THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF KURDISH COLLECTIVE IDENTITY: A CASE STUDY ON "*JÎN*" JOURNAL (1918-1919)

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis is to trace the process of Kurdish nation-building process through the journal called *Jîn*, which was published between 1918 and 1922 during the first half of the armistice period. This includes twenty five issues between when the journal began to be published in 07.11.1918 and 02.10.1919.

The first half of the armistice period is very similar to Constitutional Era in accordance to Kurdish movement. Similar to Constitutional Era, we come across social and cultural organizations during the armistice period as well. In order to understand this period well, the relationship between *Jîn* writers and the Kurdish organizations of the time were studied as well as their lives after the establishment of the republic.

The publication of *Jîn* Journal corresponds to an important political breaking point during the armistice period and while it was being explored, comparative reading with its forerunners like Kürdistan Newspaper, Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper, Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd journals was done. It was thought that a comparative reading would be helpful in order to see the disengagements and continuities in Kurdish nationalist discourse between the Constitutional Era and the armistice period. One of the primary subjects of this thesis is, how some of the main arguments that make out the nationalist discourse like the discussions on origins, ancientness, myths, language, literature and geography were utilized by the Kurdish intellectuals during the process of collective identity construction. In addition, another study was made about the way *Jîn* Journal approached the population statistics, which provided legitimacy to sovereignty claims during the armistice period.

ÖZET

Bu tezin amacı 1918- 1922 yıllarını kapsayan mütareke döneminin ilk yarısında yayımlanan *Jîn* Dergisi üzerinden Kürt ulus inşa sürecinin izini sürmektir. Bu çalışma derginin yayın hayatına başladığı 07.11.1918 ile 02.10. 1919 yılları arasında yayımlanan yirmi beş sayısını kapsamaktadır.

Mütareke döneminin ilk yarısı Kürt hareketi açısından birçok anlamda meşrutiyet döneminin ilk yarısına benzemektedir. Tıpkı Meşrutiyet döneminde olduğu gibi mütareke döneminde de siyasal ve kültürel cemiyetlerin varlığıyla karşılaşılmaktadır. Dönemin iyi anlaşılması açısından *Jîn Dergisinde* yer alan yazar kadrosunun dönemin Kürt cemiyetleri ile olan ilişkisi üzerinde durulmuş, bunun yanında cumhuriyet sonrası yaşamları da inceleme konusu olmuştur.

Siyasal anlamda önemli bir kırılma anına denk gelen mütareke döneminde yayımlanan *Jîn* dergisi incelenirken, derginin selefi olarak kabul edilen *Kürdistan Gazetesi, Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi ile Rojî Kurd ve Hetawî Kurd* dergileri ile karşılaştırmalı bir okumaya tabi tutulmuştur. Karşılaştırmalı okuma meşrutiyet döneminden mütareke dönemine Kürt milliyetçi söyleminde kopuş ve süreklilikleri görme açısından anlamlı olacağı düşünülmüştür.

Milliyetçi söylemi oluşturan temel argümanlardan köken tartışmaları, kadimlik, mitler, dil, edebiyat ve coğrafya konularının dönemin Kürt aydınları tarafından kolektif kimlik inşası açısından nasıl hizmete sokuldukları tezin temel inceleme konularıdır. Bunların yanında mütareke döneminde egemenlik iddialarına meşruiyet sağlayan nüfus istatistiklerinin *Jîn* dergisinde nasıl ele alındığı da inceleme konusu olmuştur.

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Introduction

"*Jîn*" wasn't published for personal gain.
Its aim was to publish articles concerning historical life,
national rights, literature and the sociology of Kurds
whom had been neglected for many years.
We think that it is possible to be able to create
a deserved place for the Kurdish nation within the
community of nations by working in a contemporary manner.[1]

On November 07, 1918, a group of Kurdish intellectuals published the first issue of a journal named *Jîn* (1918-1919). Given the declared goals of its editor, *Jîn* cadre aimed to make the following contribution to Kurdish culture and identity: the publications of the Kurdish classics and folklore; the publication of ethnographic studies on Kurdish habits and customs; the publication of studies on the history, language, literature and geography of Kurdistan. They also declared that they will write about Kurds' national rights.

Scholars of nationalism agree that in all nationalist movements intellectuals play an important role.[2] The intellectuals and professionals not only revive customs and languages, they rediscover history and (re-)establish ceremonies and traditions; they also give these activities and rediscoveries a national political meaning they never previously possessed.[3] Referring to this claim, I intend to discover the way Kurdish elites who wrote for the journal *Jîn* contributed to the construction of the Kurdish national identity. Although one cannot generalize it, the common components present in building process of a nation are "common heritage and language, a distinct territory, shared religion, customs, and history."[4] At this

[1]Jîn Journal İssue 1 p 2 M. Emîn Bozarslan, çev., *Jîn : kovara Kurdî-Tirkî. Cild 1* (Uppsala: Weşanxana Deng (Deng yayınevi), 1985), 202. [*"Jîn"* şahsî bir menfaat için çıkmıyor. O'nun hedefi, uzun asırlardan beri ihmal edilen Kürd hayat-ı tarihiyesine, hukuk-ı müliyesine, edebiyat ve içtimaiyatına dair neşriyatta bulunmaktır. Kanaatimize göre Kürd milletinecemiyetgâh-ı milelde layık olduğu mevkii ihzare zaferyab olabilmek, asrın telâkkilerine muvafık bir tarz-ı mesaî ittihazıyle kabildir.]
[2] Anthony Smith, National Identity, London, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141
[3] Anthony Smith, *National Identity, London*, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141
[4] Ray Taras, *Liberal and Illiberal Nationalisms*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p.40.

point, nation builders attempt to build a bridge between the past and the present of the nation through the language, the culture, the history and a nationalized territory.

Keeping Antonhy Smiths' definition of nation in mind; "a named human population sharing a historic territory, common myths and historical memories, a mass, public culture, a common economy and common legal rights and duties for all members,"[5] in my study I will seek for the components of Kurdish nationalism prominent in the pages of *Jîn*.

The aims of my thesis are two-fold. I aim to study the components of the discursive construction of Kurdish Nationalism and the way Kurdish elites contribute to the Kurdish national identity. In order to avoid this subject being too wide, I am mostly concentrating on the period of the publication of the Kurdish Journal *Jîn* (1918-1919). I chose this period and periodical because as I will try to demonstrate later in my study, I believe that the Armistice Period was a breaking point regarding the Kurdish national movement. With this period inspired by Wilson's Fourteen Points, Kurdish elites believed that they could claim a word regarding their "nations' destiny". This time they had a better planned agenda to construct a national identity among Kurdish people. Furthermore they were more insistent in their demand for sovereignty of the territory that they call Kurdistan.

By establishing a comprehensive analysis of the issues related to the discursive construction of the Kurdish national identity, I hope to make a contribution to the nationalism debates and also the debates about the role of elites for establishing a viable national identity and also forming a social resistance. I also hope to find a way for a better understanding of the discussions carried out among contemporary Kurdish intellectuals as well.

[5] Anthony D. Smith, *National identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 14

I will concentrate on analyzing a variety of genres published on *Jîn*'s pages. My study bases its discussions and draws its conclusions from the detailed analyses of first hand documents which, in my case will be mainly the Journal *Jîn*. These discussions and drawn conclusions will be more meaningful when they are read referring to the other periodicals previously published, so I will also try to base my discussion on a cross reading of these periodicals with *Jîn*.

The word '*Jîn*' means 'life'. The first issue of *Jîn* came out on November 7th, 1918. The journal continued until its 25th issue which was released on October 2nd, 1919. The journal wasn't published perpetually. At first, the journal was issued once a week but after a while, the time between two issues grew longer. The journal was published in Arabic script. The main language used in the journal was Ottoman Turkish and from the very beginning there were also some articles in Kurdish. Two Kurdish dialects Kurmancî, and Soranî were used.

The journal *Jîn* was reprinted by M.Emin Bozarslan and published by Deng Publishing House in Uppsala in 1985. I relied on this reprint in my study. I also use the original format of the journal when needed.

As I mentioned previously, for this study, the role of elites in nation building and the components of the discursive construction of Kurdish Nation are my primary interests. I chose to have a look at the journal *Jîn* in this context. Before laying down my findings which, I dealt with in the fifth chapter in a detailed way, I felt that I had to draw a theoretical and conceptual framework for my study. That is why chapter one reviews the literature on the nationalism debates. I also discuss the role of elites in the nation building process to understand those intellectuals who wrote for *Jîn* in a deeper sense.

In order to have a better understanding of my primary concern I also knew that I had to supply the study with a historical background. I devote chapter two accordingly. The first three parts of Chapter Two, which provides a historical background of the discursive construction of the

Kurdish Nation, examines the specific case of Kurdish nationalism within the context of the late Ottoman Empire and evaluates the existing historiography relating to the evolution of Kurdish nationalism. For this part I mostly based my analysis on secondary sources that focused on this issue alongside some periodicals as the primary sources. In the fourth part of chapter two I look for the emergence and the development of the Kurdish Press up to the Journal *Jîn* relying on some periodicals as the primary sources alongside the secondary sources.

Chapters three, four and five constitute the main body of the thesis regarding the components of discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation with respect to the Kurdish periodical *Jîn*. Chapter three takes a look at the story and content of *"Jin",* while chapter four displays the e writers of *"Jin"* and their socio-economic background. I believed that providing such a background would make chapter five, which is the centre for the main body of this study, more comprehensible.

I believe that *Jîn* cadre had the concern to unite Kurds around a common identity whose components vary from historic territory to authenticity. Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the fact that their people should fulfil the necessities of being a nation. Motivated by this awareness, they tried to make Kurds to be proud of their ancestors, homeland and culture. In chapter five, relying on my comprehensive reading through of the pages of *Jîn*, I am going to discuss some of these aspects used in the discursive construction of the Kurdish nation in *Jîn* through references to remarkable statements in different issues of the periodical. In this chapter, I also search for clues of collective identities of which can be found on *Jîn*'s pages, while doing that I also have to give a look on clashing identities of that time and the role of "others" in the construction of a Kurdish identity. I think this chapter will provide an understanding for the contribution of *Jîn* to the discursive construction of the Kurdish Nation. This chapter aims to display the clues that have led me to the idea that the intellectuals of that

time advocated the ing of a national identity. All twenty five issues published were read in a detailed way. And a comprehensive analysis was done via the prose and the poets published in the periodical. I also scanned the secondary sources focused on in *Jîn* and I referred to them where needed. While constructing this chapter I tried to refer to some of the periodicals analyzed in chapter two since I believed a cross-reading of these periodicals with *Jîn* would supply the study with a deeper perception of the early discursive construction of a Kurdish nation.

And finally, the study ends up with a conclusion that hopes to draw together the main points raised in this study.

Part A

Chapter I Theoretical and Methodological Background of the Study

Nationalism is a discourse that shapes our conscious and helps us to interpret the world, that is to say it is nationalism that determines our collective identity. It is a way of perception that guides our daily discourse, behaviours and attitudes. [6]

1. Nationalism Debates

Focusing on the discussions going on among the scholars of nationalism will be a good starting point in attempting to understand the development of nationalism. Looking into theories of nationalism three broad categories come into prominence: Primordialism, Modernism and Ethno-symbolism.

The shared characteristic of the primordialists is their belief in the antiquity and naturalness of nations. That of the modernists is their conviction in the modernity of nations and

[6] Ümit Özkırımlı, Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.15

nationalism; finally that of the ethno-symbolists is the emphasis they place on their explanations of ethnic pasts and cultures.[7]

For the primordialists, the past determines the present: nations have existed since time immemorial and they are a natural part of human existence, as sight of speech.[8] Primordialism suggests that nationalism has deep roots in human associational life. For the primordialists the idea that nations were natural and 'given' historical units is the main point. While a nation may lay dormant, go through Golden Ages, and decline, it is an ever present actor on the stage of history. This might be described as the nationalists' view of the nation, the starting point of traditional 'patriotic histories'.

Modernism is another dominant pattern among the theories of nationalism. Among the scholars of nationalism there are Ernest Gellner Eric Hobsbawn, Tom Nairn, John Breuilly, Paul Brass, Benedict Anderson and Miroslav Hroch[9]

According to modernists, it is nationalism that creates nations.[10] They argue that the economic, political and social conditions which would lead to nationalism could only exist in modern ages; that is to say, nations only became a sociological necessity during the age of nationalism.

This perspective asserts that nations and nationalism are products of specific modern processes, such as capitalism, industrialism, the bureaucratic state, urbanization and secularism.[11] The common denominator between modernists is their assumption of the historical novelty of 'nations and nationalism'. Thus, while individual writers stressed particular dynamics, such as 'industrial culture' for Gellner, the modern state for Breuilly and,

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[7] Ahmet Tolga Turker, Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds, Dissertation, in the Department of Political Science in the McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 33
[8] Ümit Özkırımlı, Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.81-87
[9] Ahmet Tolga Turker, Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds, Dissertation, in the Department of Political Science in the McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 34
[10] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.55
[11] Ümit Özkırımlı, Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.35

in the case of Anderson, a combination of factors including 'print capitalism' and a revolution in the conception of time. Therefore, the nationalist political argument as characterized by Breuilly signifies following assumptions first; there exists a unique nation, second; its interests and values take priority over all other interests and third; it must be as independent as possible, is qualitatively different and discontinues from pre-modern ethnic communities.[12]

Gellner, who is generally the most respected of all the recent modernist theorists of nationalism, worked out a theory of nationalism and its development. He focused on the relationship between nationalism, culture and the industrialization process. He claims that the nations are the products of nationalism itself.

> Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent . . . political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures; that is reality. [13]

Gellner claims that, nationalism is impossible, unnecessary, and virtually unimaginable in agrarian societies.[14] Gellner uses a contrast between traditional and modern society and provides a basically functionalist explanation of the social and economic need for cultural homogeneity, based on what he terms 'high culture', in a new industrial society.[15]

Gellner claims that, the culture of elite groups, and especially their language and literacy, spreads and replaces, or at least supplements, other 'folk' cultures sufficiently to create a certain ideological unity around the idea of nation. For Gellner, 'nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent.' It is also a fundamental feature of the modern world since in most of human history political units were not organized along nationalist principles.

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[12] Ahmet Tolga Turker, *Nationalism and Modernization: A Comparative Case Study of Scots and Kurds, Dissertation*, in the Department of Political Science in the McMicken College of Arts and Sciences, 2008 p. 34
[13] Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism,* Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, p.48/49
[14] Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman , *Nationalism: A Crıtıcal Introductıon*, London: Sage Publications, 2002, p.33
[15] Ümit Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.167

Benedict Anderson, who is another scholar of nationalism, calls nations "imagined communities" and considers the concept of the nation as an ideological construct. He states that "regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship"[16]

Anderson stresses the way cultural changes are brought about by socio-economic change – in this case capitalism, or rather the combination of capitalism and the revolution in communication which he terms 'printcapitalism'. New ways of imagining abstract communities are made possible and these form the underpinning of the emergence of modern nationalism. The idea of the nation as an 'imagined community' has formed much of the common sense of the analysis of nationalism over the past two decades. Anderson defined a nation as "imagined both inherently limited and sovereign". Anderson argues that the nation 'is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion'[17] They are limited even the biggest nation have finite boundaries, beyond which lie other nations. They are sovereign in so far as no dynastic monarchy can claim authority over them, in the modern period. Considering nationalism as a product of modernization, Anderson argues that the idea of nation, which refers immemorial past and limitless future, provides a sense of continuity and meaning to modern life.[18]

Anderson rejected the 'invention' idea because of its insinuation of 'falsity'. In place of 'fabrication' and 'invention' Anderson uses 'creation' and 'imagining'.[19]While accepting a constructivist view, he relates the 'imagined political' to 'print capitalism' and, often ignored,

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[16] Benedict R. O'G Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Rev. and extended ed (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 6.
[17] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined* Communities, Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Londra: Verso, 2006 P.7,8
[18] ibid, pp. 11-12
[19] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities, Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Londra: Verso, 2006 P.7,8

the decline of traditional religious worldviews to the development of the doctrine of popular sovereignty.

Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm, argues that the nation is a wholly modern phenomenon, which 'belongs exclusively to a particular, and historically recent period'[20] For Eric Hobsbawm nationalists are ambitious 'social engineers' deliberately stirring up the atavist emotions of the masses. Within this relatively narrow time frame, nationalism has interacted with other movements and dynamics. Thus state building, democratization, language construction, scientific racism, socialism have all left their mark on the twists and turns of nationalism. In the process, nationalism has changed its character as a political movement, being notably transformed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when it acquired a strong ethnic focus. This emphasis on the historical processes involved in the construction of nationalist movements is a salutary corrective to both the universalistic arguments of the primordialists and the somewhat ahistorical and over-schematic work of a functionalist modernization theorist like Gellner. One of the further strengths of his analysis is that, sensitive to issues of class and literacy, he does not attempt to deduce the feelings of peoples from the evidence of the literate or writing minority.[21]

For Hobsbawm, the invented traditions are the main concern, he claims that many of the traditions which is thought of as being very ancient in their origins were not in fact sanctioned by long usage over the centuries, but were invented comparatively recently. He claims that national consciousness is the most common and concrete invented tradition. Even if they were

[20] Eric J Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, second edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p.9

[21] Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman , *Nationalism: A Critical Introduction*, London: Sage Publications, 2002, p.42

invented in modern age, these traditions which link today with the past aims to improve the solidarity and unity among the individuals that generate social groups. [22]

History is used as a "legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion" by political institutions, ideological movements and groups.[23] Thereby, history turns into part of the supply of knowledge for the ideology of the nation, state or movement. However, the history, named here, does not represent the one preserved in popular memory, rather it is the one "selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so".[24] That is to say, according to Hobsbawm, ancient materials are used to construct invented traditions of a new type for new purposes. In this context, myths are fitted for nationalism, which is actually a modern phenomenon, to prove persistence of the nations: However all human beings, collectivities and institutions need a past uncovered by historical research. The standard example of identity culture which anchors itself to the past by means of myths dressed up as history is nationalism. Since nations are historically young entities pretending to have existed for a very long time, inevitably the nationalist version of history consists of anachronism, omission and decontextualization.[25]

Paul Brass, another scholar of nationalism, who focuses on the mechanism of the construction of nationalism, claims that ethnicity and nationalism are not "givens", but social and political constructions.[26] To the contrary of the idea that the rise of ethnic identities and their transformation into nationalism is an inevitable process, Brass assumes that, the politicization of cultural identities is only possible under specific conditions. In this context, Brass claims that, ethnic conflicts do not arise from cultural differences but from the broader political and economic environment. He claims that to gain political power and economic advantage, elites

[22] Ümit Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış*, Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.147
[23] *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12.
[24] *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12-13
[25] E. J. Hobsbawm, *On history* (New York: New Press : Distributed by Norton, 1997), 270
[26] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and nationalism: theory and comparison* (New Delhi ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1991), 12.

create a political identity on the basis of ethnicity and nationalism. Therefore, ethnic identities are product of the process of ethnic identity formation and this process necessitates the very definition of ethnic group and its persistence. Nationalist elites use cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups as political resources, in their struggle for power and prestige.[27] Brass adds that the symbols used to create a political identity also can be shifted to adjust to political circumstances and the limitations imposed by state authorities. Thus their meanings and contents are dependent on political circumstances[28]. Therefore, elites, who wish to represent the groups to protect their well-being or existence or to gain political or economic

advantage, "draw upon, distort, and sometimes fabricate materials from the cultures of the groups" in order to create ethnicity and nationalism.[29] Brass claims that in the process of ethnic transformation "cultural markers selected and used as a basis differentiating the group from other groups"

Ethno-symbolists, form a more homogeneous category than both the primordialsts and the modernists. Guided by a common reverence for the past, they emphasize a similar process in their explanations of national phenomena. According to them the formation of nations should be examined in 'a time dimension of many centuries'.[30]Ethno-symbolism focuses on the centrality of myths of descent in ethnic persistence. Therefore, it underlines the continuity between pre-modern and modern forms of social cohesion, doing that they do not overlook the changes brought about by modernity. The persisting features in the formation and continuity of national identities are myths, memories, values, traditions and symbols. Myths of ethnic descent, particularly myths of 'ethnic choice', lay at its core. Of all these myths, the

[27] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and nationalism: theory and comparison* (New Delhi ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1991), 15
[28] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and nationalism: theory and comparison* (New Delhi ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1991), 13-16
[29] Paul R. Brass, *Ethnicity and nationalism: theory and comparison* (New Delhi ; Newbury Park, Calif: Sage Publications, 1991), 8
[30] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary debates on nationalism: a critical engagement* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York: PalgraveMacmillan, 2005), 168.

myth of a 'golden age' of past splendour is perhaps the most important. The foundations of modern nations are earlier ethnic communities, or ethnies. Ethnies are formed by coalescence and division, but are durable. The first nations were formed around ethnic cores.[31]

Ethno-symbolists, reject the stark 'continuism' of the perennialists and accord due weight to the transformation wrought by modernity. They also reject the claims of the modernists by arguing that a greater measure of continuity exists between traditional and modern or agrarian and 'industrial' eras.

Anthony D. Smith who is one of the well-known ethno-symbolists claims that modern nationalism did not appear ex nihilo, but has clearly pre-modern antecedents. According to him, the rise of nations is predicated on the prior existence of ethnic groups, and nations are formed around 'ethnic cores', developed from premodern 'ethnie' whose members possess a collective proper name, share a myth of common ancestry, possess one or more differentiating elements of a common culture, share historical memories, associate themselves with a specific 'homeland', and have a sense of solidarity for significant sections of the population[32] It makes no difference whether these beliefs are themselves rational or irrational; they exist and are effective.

Anthony Smith, emphasizes the significance of earlier myths, symbols, values and memories for ethnicity and nationalism. He underlines the themes of virtue, holiness, heroism, power, wealth and creativity in national identity.[33] He claims that these themes have played an

important role in cementing ethnic communities in the past and continue to do so in current debates about national identity. They provide touchstones and inspiration in moments of crisis

[31] Ümit Özkırımlı, *Milliyeçilik kuramları: Eleştirel bir bakış,* Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009 p.119
[32] Anthony D. Smith *National Identity,* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991, p.21
[33] Anthony D. Smith 1997. "The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal" in Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George. (ed). 1997. Myths and Nationhood. New York:Routledge , 36-59

and rapid change.[34] According to Smith, these concepts function so as to satisfy the quest for authenticity which is a myth of origins and descent, and also they underline the differences between "us" and "outsider".[35] Additionally, they establish a sense of continuity between generations. Smith states "by establishing genealogical descent as well as cultural affinity with the heroic age(s), later generations realize their own genuine heroic individuality".[36]

Anthony Smith claims that "Central to myths is the idea that nations exist from time immemorial, and that nationalists must reawaken them from a long slumber to take their place in a world of nations. The hold of the nation lies, partly in the promise of the nationalist salvation drama itself. But this power is often immeasurably increased by the living presence of traditions embodying memories, symbols, myths and values from much earlier epochs in the life of a population, community or area."[37]According to him, these ideas serve the search for collective nobility, which is a key element in national struggles.[38]

Ethnosymbolists, differ from Primordialists by accepting that nationalism is a product of the modern age, on the other hand they claim that theories explaining nationalism by means of modern processes such as capitalism and industrialization is insufficient because these approaches ignore the persistence of ethnic loyalty.[39]

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[34]Anthony D. Smith 1997. "*The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal"* in Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George. (ed). 1997. Myths and Nationhood. New York:Routledge ,

[35] Anthony D. Smith 1997. "*The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal"* in Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George. (ed). 1997. Myths and Nationhood. New York:Routledge , 49

[36] Anthony D. Smith 1997. "*The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal*" in Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George. (ed). 1997. Myths and Nationhood. New York:Routledge , 50

[37] Anthony D. Smıth, *Natıonal Identıty*, Penguin Books: London,1991, p.18,19

[38] Anthony D. Smith 1997. "*The 'Golden Age' and National Renewal*" in Hosking, Geoffrey and Schöpflin, George. (ed). 1997. Myths and Nationhood. New York:Routledge , p. 50

[39] Ronayi Önen, *The Role Of Language in The Discursive Construction of The Kurdish Nation*, unpublished dissertation, Istanbul Bilgi Universtiy, 2012, p. 15

2. The role of elites

In the process of building national consciousness, elites act as the engineers of the nationalist movements by providing cultural, historical, political and economic arguments to sustain the distinctive character of the nation and to legitimize its will to decide upon its political future.

Miroslav Hroch, points out three structural phases occurred between the starting-point of any given national movement and its successful conclusion, He distinguishes this period according to the character and role of those active in it, and the degree of national consciousness emergent in the ethnic group at large.

> During an initial period, which I have called Phase A, the energies of the activists were above all devoted to scholarly enquiry into and the dissemination of an awareness of the linguistic, cultural, social and sometimes historical attributes of the non-dominant group but without, on the whole, pressing specifically national demands to remedy deficits.
> In a second period, or Phase B, a new range of activists emerged, who now sought to win over as many of their ethnic group as possible to the project of creating a future nation, by patriotic agitation to 'awaken' national consciousness among them at first usually without notable success (in one sub-stage), but later (in another sub-stage) finding a growing reception. Once the major part of the population came to set special store by their national identity, a mass movement was formed, which I have termed Phase C. It was only during this final phase that a full social structure could come into being, and that the movement differentiated out into conservative clerical, liberal and democratic wings, each with their own programmes. [40]

Anthony Smith,[41] claims that in all nationalist movements, intellectuals play an important role. He goes on by saying that the extent and exact nature, of that role, varies according to context; he adds that in different societies and periods the meaning of the term "intelligentsia" may vary, but it varies within definite limits. For it is nevertheless possible to discern the strong influence, and often leadership, of intellectual and professional groups both in the process of vernacular mobilization and in the cultural politicization of the wider strata of the community or category. According to Smith, the intellectuals and professionals not only revive customs and languages, rediscover history and (re-)establish ceremonies and traditions;

[40] Miroslav Hroch, From *National Movement to the Fully-formed Nation the nation-building process in Europe,* New Left Review I /198, London, March-April 1993, p.6/7
[41] Anthony Smith, *National Identity*, London, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141

they also give these activities and rediscoveries a national political meaning they never previously possessed. [42]

Brian Weinstein, divides the elites who direct the ethnic and nationalist movements into two groups; Political elites and Cultural elites. [43] He emphasizes that Political elites define the interest of national movements in terms of access to power and wealth while Cultural elites define the group in terms of where frontiers begin and end. From his point of view each plays a different but complementary role. Cultural actors are writers, translators, poets, and dictionary makers whose choice of tongue for their literary works can raise that language up the flagpole of identity. The person who thus innovates linguistically in order to promote interests should be called a language strategist.[44] Weinstein also claims that these strategists' motivation is political rather than solely artistic.

[42] Anthony Smith, *National Identity*, London, Penguin Books of London, 1991, P.140-141

[43] Brian Weinstein *Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices,* in World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364 (Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993) .

[44] Brian Weinstein *Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices,* in World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, p. 345

Chapter II-Historical Background

1. An Overview of the Late Ottoman Empire

The modernization act that started in the last quarter of the 18th century in the Ottoman Empire carried on with profound changes until the first quarter of the 19th century. Efforts to eliminate local leaders in the provinces in order to strengthen the central authority were enhanced during the first quarter of the 19th century and by the 1820s most of the leaders in the Balkans subjugated.[45] According to some historians the power vacuum created by the eliminated leaders was the reason for the Greek uprising, which started in 1821 and ended with independence in 1829. [46] But, if we also consider the Serbian uprising, which began in 1804 and ended by achieving autonomy in 1817, we can come to the conclusion that the seeds of nationalistic movements that were inspired by the French Revolution were sown in the Balkans.

After Greece won independence through the Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, The Issue of Egypt became one of the most important issues that preoccupied the Ottoman Empire. Mehmet Ali Paşa was appointed as governor of Egypt in 1808 and instantly became stronger with the reforms he made in both administrative and military areas. He defeated the Ottoman Empire twice, once in 1832 Konya and once in 1839 Nizip. Although the centralisation efforts were delayed in Kurdistan because of the crises experienced in Egypt, Soran Emirate was defeated in 1835 and it completely lost its independence in 1847.[47]

Ottomanism was the main ideology during the Tanzimat Reform Era, which began with the issuing of the Tanzimat Edict in 1839 and ended in 1876. The forefront effort of Ottomanism was to gather different religious and ethnic groups living within the Ottoman Empire under

[45] Erik Jan Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi = Turkey, a modern history*, 22. baskı, İletişim yayınları 332 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 55.
[46] Matthew S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923: A study international relations,* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 54 Aktaran ; Zürcher, *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin tarihi = Turkey, a modern history*, 58.
[47] Martin van Bruinessen, *Ağa, şeyh ve devlet = Agha,shaikh and state the social and political structures of Kurdistan*, 5. baskı, İletişim yayınları ; Araştırma-inceleme dizisi 891. 142 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2008), 271.

the umbrella of the Ottoman Nation. [48] According to Şükrü Hanioğlu, the idea of Ottomanism was Ottoman statesmens' effort toward forming a new identity in order to prevent the spread of post French Revolution nationalism, especially within the Ottoman Empire's Christian communities.[49]

Administrative and military modernisation continued in the Tanzimat Era as well as the centralisation efforts while Kurdistan's last Emirate Cezire and Bohtan lost its power in 1847. [50] There are debates about whether the uprising which caused the emirate loosing its power was nationalistic or not but after the uprising was quelled, the members of Bedirxan Bey's family who were sent to exile in Crete became prominent figures in Kurdish nationalistic movement.

2. The Era of Abdul Hamid II

The opposition, which emerged with the Young Ottomans, defended the idea of Constitutional legitimacy in the last phase of the Ottoman Tanzimat Era. This idea emerged when Abdülhamit II ascended to the throne in 1876 and when Kanun-i Esasi (The Ottoman Constitution) came to effect. But in 1877 the parliament was shut indefinitely and the reason for this was given as being the Ottoman- Russian war. The Christian population within the empire saw a serious decline after losing land in the Balkans through the Russian war. This caused the idea of Ottomanism to be questioned and led Abdülhamit II to develop Pan-islamic policies. According to Şükrü Hanioğlu, while the rulers were trying to achieve Pan-islamism, the opposition organised within the country and abroad have continued to maintain the policy of Ottomanism.[51] After the Ottoman-Russian war in 1877, The Treaty of Berlin was signed by The Ottoman Empire in 1878 committing to make reforms in favour of the Armenians in

[48] Somel Akşin Selçuk, *Osmanlı reform Çağında Osmanlıcılık Düşüncesi (1839-1913) Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce*, 2.baskı cilt:3 ed, Mehmet Ö. Alkan İletişim Yayınları 762 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 88.
[49] Hanioğlu Şükrü, Osmancılık, Murat Belge, ed, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, c 5 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 1390.
[50] Bruinessen, *Ağa, şeyh ve devlet = Agha,shaikh and state the social and political structures of Kurdistan*, 277.
[51] Şükrü Hanioğlu, Osmanlıcılık, Belge, *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 5:1391.

Vİlayat-ı Sitte (Six Provinces). According to Hakan Özoğlu, the main reason of the rebellion started by Skeikh Ubeydullah in 1880-81 was this commitment of the Ottoman Empire to make reforms in favour of the Armenians. [52] While Hakan Özoğlu has some doubts about the Nationalistic nature of Skeikh Ubeydullah rebellion[53] Robert Olson[54] and Wadie Jwadieh[55] both agree on it being nationalistic.

The era of Abdülhamit II brought to the fore cooperation with the empire's Muslim elements like Arabs, Albanians and Kurds as it adopted the ideology of Islamism while the ideology of Ottomanism was abandoned. Children of the prominent Arab, Albanian and Kurdish families were accepted to newly opened Aşiret Mektebi (Imperial tribal School) in this era. This way, students would have been brought up as loyal individuals while keeping the tribes these students belong to also loyal to the Ottoman Empire.[56] Surely one of the most important developments in Kurdistan during the era of Abdülhamit II was the formation of the Hamidiye cavalry. This cavalry was composed of Kurdish tribes in 1890 in order to prevent the Russian and Armenian threat. We can say that the formation of the Hamidiye cavalry seriously affected the power balance and social relations in Kurdistan.[57] Kurdish Armenian social relations were negatively influenced especially after the attitude the Hamidiye Cavalry exhibited during the Sasun revolt of the Armenians in 1894. Both Hamidiye Cavalry and Imperial Tribal Schools can be seen as efforts towards strengthening the loyalty of Kurds to the empire with the help of Pan-islamist policies.

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[52] Hakan Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005), 97.
[53] Robert W. Olson, *The emergence of Kurdish nationalism and the Sheikh Said rebellion, 1880-1925*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989).
[54] Ibid.
[55] Wadie Jwaideh, *Kürt milliyetçiliğinin tarihi: kökenleri ve gelişimi = The Kurdish nationalist movement: its origins and development*, 3. baskı, Araştırma inceleme dizisi 89 (İstanbul: İletişim, 1999), 161.
[56] Alişan Akpınar ve Eugene L. Rogan, *Aşiret, Mektep, Devlet, Osmanlı Devleti'nde Aşiret Mektebi* (Istanbul: Aram Yayıncılık, 2001), 128.
[57] Bruinessen, *Ağa, şeyh ve devlet = Agha,shaikh and state the social and political structures of Kurdistan*, 287.

Young Turks is the common name given to various opposition groups who were against the absolute rule of Abdülhamit II.[58] The main organisation of the Young Turks in the Abdülhamit II era was formed by a group of medical students and it was called *Ittihad-i Osmani (Committee of Ottoman Union).*[59] This organisation formed the core of another organisation called *Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (The Committee of Union and Progress)* responsible for the Second Constitutional Era. (II. Meşrutiyet) According to Sina Akşin Somel, attitudes of the Second Constitutional Era and the First Constitution coming in to effect again helped bring together groups with different political views and different ideas about the future of the empire together.[60] The Young Turks had people like the founder of *The Committee of Ottoman Union* Abdullah Cevdet and Abdurrahman Bedirxan, co-founder of the first Kurdish newspaper *Kurdistan*.

a. The proclamation of the Second Constitution

The dominant thought in *The Committee of Union and Progress*, which led to the proclamation of the Second Constitution on the 24th of July 1908, was Ottomanism. The belief that many different ethnicities could live equally under the roof of the Ottoman Empire was prominent. Soon this optimistic atmosphere would be destroyed as Bulgaria, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Crete would become independent in 1908 and on the 31st of March and the 13th of April, 1909 uprisings happened.[61] The Albanians' rebelled in 1910-13 then became independent as well. Nearly loosing all Balkan countries during the Balkan War made *The Committee of Union and Progress* party members lean more towards Turkish nationalism

[58] Selçuk Akşin Somel, Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmancılık Düşüncesi(1839-1913)*Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt.1, 107.
[59] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 145.
[60] Selçuk Akşin Somel, Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmancılık Düşüncesi(1839-1913)*Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce*, Cilt.1, 108.
[61] Feroz Ahmad, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 61–62.

rather then Ottomanism.[62] It is possible to see *The Committee of Union and Progress* parties leaning from Ottomanism to Turkish Nationalism in Kurdish newspapers and magazines that were published in this era. While Ottomanism was a prominent idea in *Kürt Teavün and Terakki Newspaper* in 1908, ideas of Kurdishness and nationalistic conscience were prominent in *Rojî Kurd* ve *Hetawî Kurd* journals in 1913.[63] In the Constitutional era, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti (The Society for the Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan)* and *Kürt Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti (The society for the Propagation of Kurdih Education)* were formed while newspapers like *Şark ve Kürdistan, Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper, Kürdistan Newspaper, Rojî Kurd* and *Hetawî Kurd* journals were published.

3. The Armistice Period

This period starts with the Armistice of Mundros on the 30th of October, 1918 and ends with the abolishment of the sultanate on the 1st or 2nd of November, 1922.[64] 25 issues of the *Jîn Journal* were published at the beginning of the Armistice period between the 8th of November, 1918 and the 2nd of October, 1919. To be able to understand the journal *Jîn*, I think it is important to have a grasp of the political and cultural atmosphere of the Armistice period. Two main subjects that were discussed during this period were the Fourteen Points and the Paris Peace Conference.

According to Nesim Şeker, the Ottoman Empire being defeated in World War II brought with it the end of the empire and the livening of the ethnic conflicts.[65] The ethnic conflicts Nesim Şeker is mentioning were between Armenians, Greeks, Kurds and Turks. Before the Armistice of Mundros was signed Woodrow Wilson read out a statement on the 8th of

[62] Nesim Şeker, *«Ethnic Conflicts in Anatolia and the Establishment of the Turkish Republic»* (P.h.d, Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi, 2002), 21.
[63] Gülseren Duman ve M.S. Program in Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, *The formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914: Exploring the footprints of Kurdish nationalism*, 2010, 133.
[64] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, Genişletilmiş 2. baskı, c v.2. Mütareke Dönemi (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 3.
[65]Nesim Şeker, *«Ethnic Conflicts in Anatolia and the Establishment of the Turkish Republic»*, 52.

January,1918 in the American Parliament. In the 12th section of this statement, which was later called the Fourteen Points, ethnic groups who made up the majority of the population in an area within the empire were to be given the right to govern themselves. This claim of sovereignty over alleged geography has led to the emergence of different population statistics. That's why the Fourteen Points became a legitimate foundation for nationalistic demands of the Armenian, Greek, Kurdish and Turkish nationalists. Representatives of the ethnic groups tried to defend their rights to the land through the population statistics at the Paris Peace Conference on the 8th of January, 1919. Conflict was inevitable as both Kurdish and Armenian nationalists defended their rights to Diyarbakır, Van, Erzurum, Bitlis, Sivas and Mamüretü'l Aziz provinces. Both sides argued that they had the biggest population in these areas.[66] The agreement that was reached between Şerif Paşa representing Kurds and Bogos Nubar Paşa representing Armenians at the Paris Peace Conference became a serious topic of discussion in Istanbul's press as well as for the *Kürdistan Teali Cemiyeti (The Society for the Rise of Kurdistan).* It would be helpful to look at the Kurdish nationalist movement during the armistice period before discussing the agreement reached between Şerif Paşa and Bogos Nubar Paşa.

Tarık Zafer Tunaya talks about the number of political organisations and societies being quite high during the armistice period in his book called Political Parties During Armistice period.[67] One of these political societies was the KTC. Tunaya states the forming date for this society as the 18th of December, 1918.[68] But in his article about the KTC, Oğuz Aytepe argues that the forming of this society was the 6th of November, 1917 according to his research done using the archives of the General Directorate of Security.[69] This date Aytepe is mentioning is within the time of World War I and the fact that the journal *Jîn* started to be published a week

[66] Ibid., 115–116.
[67] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, 1984, v.2. Mütareke Dönemi:34.
[68] Ibid., v.2. Mütareke Dönemi:186.
[69] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», sayı 174 (1998): 10.

after the Armistice of Mundros makes his theory stronger. Tarık Zafer Tunaya suggests that the KTC seems to be more nationalistic with its practice rather than with its programme.[70] The head of this society was Seyit Abdülkadir who was also the head of KTTC. The election of Seyit Abdülkadir to be the head of the Council of State[71] and one of *Jîn*'s columnists Ibrahim Efendi's election as the Chief religious Official of the empire[72] can be considered as signs of the empires efforts to maintain cooperation with the Kurds. KTC wasn't the only Kurdish organisation in that period. Those are the organisations we can see mentioned in the journal *Jîn*, sometimes by giving the date of their formation and sometimes as they were mentioned within articles: *Kürt Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti*, *Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti, Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti, Kürt Demokrat Fırkası.* We should also add two journals called *Jîn* and *Kurdistan* to this list. But as Tunaya suggests, the most prominent of these societies was KTC as it stood out with its political works.[73] This society tried to get organised in Kurdistan during the first half of the Armistice and opened bureaus in different provinces. The situation that caused this society to be divided and loose its power was the agreement reached between Şerif Paşa who represented the Kurds and Bogos Nubar Paşa who represented Armenians in Paris Peace Conference about the forming of independent Kurdish and Armenian states. Members like Emin Ali Bedirxan who were defenders of the independent Kurdish State left the organisation after Seyit Abdülkadir said Kurds didn't want independence but were after autonomy instead, as he was under a lot of pressure.[74] The members who wanted independence and left KTC formed a new organisation called *Kürt Teşkilat-ı İçtimaiye (Kurdish Society for Social Organisation).* As we understand from the 33rd and 36th edition of *Jîn* when it started to be published as a newspaper, this group who supported independence

[70] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, 1984, v.2. Mütareke Dönemi:188.
[71] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, çev., *Jîn : kovara Kurdî-Tirkî. Cild 3* (Uppsala: Weşanxana Deng (Deng yayınevi), 1986), 586 Jîn Journal Vol. 13 .
[72] Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 230 Jîn Journal Vol. 2 .
[73] [73] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, 1984, v.2. Mütareke Dönemi:188.
[74] Chris Kutschera, *Kürt Ulusal Hareketi* (Istanbul: Avesta, 2001), 46.

carried on publishing this journal as a newspaper. Like Armenian and Kurdish nationalist movements, Turkish nationalist movement also tried to legitimise their nationalist demands during the first part of the armistice basing their arguments on the Fourteen Points. But while the Paris Peace Conference was still taking place, Greeks occupied İzmir and this led Turkish nationalists to organise armed struggle through local resistance organisations. Mustafa Kemal was leading the Turkish Nationalist Movement, which saw the occupation of İstanbul and the shutting of the parliament as two good opportunities to start becoming organised in different places of Anatolia. In April 1920 they opened the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Ankara making this city the main centre for the Turkish Nationalist Movement. Especially through Mustafa Kemal, this movement began to contact Kurdish tribal and other key leaders to invite them to become part of their struggle. The idea that Islam being a common ground for Kurds and Turks was very prominent in the telegraphs sent to Kurdish tribes by Mustafa Kemal. As well as Islam, mentioning the fear of Armenians taking over Kurdish lands was prominent too.[75] We can see that some Kurdish tribal leaders had a positive response toward Mustafa Kemal's calls but as we can see from the Koçgiri uprising in 1921, some tribes' responses were negative and they started rebelling. Nuri Dersimi sees this uprising as the reason for wanting an independent Kurdistan including Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Van, Elaziz and Dersim-Koçgiri.[76] As we can see, Kurdish tribes reacted differently towards Turkish Nationalist Movement. We can also say that Kurdish Intellectuals had conflicting views about this movement. While one of the *Jîn Journal* columnists and Bitlis member of the parliament Yusuf Ziya was joining the meetings of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in Ankara, another columnist Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu and Kamuran Ali Bedirxan began organising for the independent Kurdistan with English Major M. Noel.[77] Surely one of the most important

[75] Nesim Şeker, «Ethnic Conflicts in Anatolia and the Establishment of the Turkish Republic», 237.
[76] Vet. Dr. M. Nuri Dersimi, *Kürdistan Tarihinde Dersim* (Istanbul: Doz Yayınları, 1997), 139.
[77] Ekrem Cemilpaşa, *Muhtasar Hayatım, Kemalizme Karşı Kürt Aydınının Mücadelesinden Bir Yaprak* (Ankara: Beybûn Yayınları, 1992), 41.

events that took place during the armistice period was the Kurdish movement led by Sheikh Mahmut Berzenci in South Kurdistan. There was also a South Kurdistan committee present in the Paris Peace Conference under the chairmanship of Şerif Paşa. Figures like Mustafa Paşa Yamulki and Abdülaziz Yamulki left İstanbul in the second half of the armistice period and went to join the Kurdish movement forming in South Kurdistan.[78] The period of armistice ended with the Turkish nationalists success that made Kurdish intellectuals and politicians take different directions. Columnists in *Jîn Journal* like Süleymaniyeli Tevfik and Abdülaziz Baban moved to South Kurdistan. Again *Jîn* Journal Columnists like Kemal Fevzi, Doktor Fuad, Yusuf Ziya and the head of Society for the Rise of Kurdistan Seyit Abdülkadir were hanged as they were accused of taking part in the sheikh Said Rebellion. Other columnists like Kamuran Ali Bedirxan, Memduh Selim and Müküslü Hamza left Turkey and tried to organise a Kurdish opposition through the organisation called Hoybun in Syria. On the other hand, figures like Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu, Mehmet Mihri Hilav and Şefik Arvasi preferred to stay in Turkey. As there was no way to continue any kind of work about Kurds during the era of the Turkish Republic, Mehmet Mihri Hilav carried on his relationship with the newspapers and journals that were published in South Kurdistan and sent them writings until his death. Şefik Arvasi tried to keep away from political work and Kurdish subjects and as for Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu, he took the side of the Islamist opposition during the period of the Republic.

4. The Emergence of Kurdish Nationalism

İf only there were unity among us, and we would obey one another
Then all of the ottomans and Arabs an İranians, would became our servants,
We would reach perfection in religion and state, and we woul become productive in knowledge and wisdom[79]

[78] Wadie Jwaideh, *The Kurdish national movement: its origins and development*, Contemporary issues in the Middle East (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 192.

[79] Ehmedê Xanî, Mem û Zîn, Kürd Tamim-i Maârif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti, İstanbul, 1918, p:15
[Ger dê hebuwa me îttifaqek,Vêkra bikira me înqiyadek, Rûm û 'Ereb û 'Ecem temamî
Hem'yan ji me ra dikir xulamî,Tekmîli dikir me dîn û dewlet, Tehsîli dikir me 'ilm û hikmet]

Ehmedê Xanî, the writer of the lines above, lived in the second half of the 17th century and became an important basis for the Kurdish nationalistic discourse with his work called Mem û Zîn. It was argued that Xanî's work had "nationalistic discourse"[80] and it caused different thoughts to emerge between Kurdish scholars regarding the origins of Kurdish Nationalism.

In his work called Nationalism And Language in Kurdistan (1918-1985) Amir Hassanpour bases his suggestion that Kurdish Nationalism emerged in the 17th century on Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn.[81] Hassanpour thinks talking about nationalism in 17th century Kurdistan can be seen as an anachronism but he calls this era "Feudal Nationalism" because of the subjective elements of Kurdistan's conditions at that time. In his book called The idea of Kurdish Nationalism, Cemal Nebez shares the same thoughts with Hassanpour and suggests that Ehmedê Xanî was calling Kurds to create an independent Kurdish State in his book Mem û Zîn. In an Independent Kurdistan, the idea of a Kurdish state, uniting "all Kurdish nationals" headed by a Kurdish sultan is suggested to emerge from Kurdistan and not borrowed from abroad.[82]

Opposite to this, Abbas Vali says it would be impossible to talk about a Kurdish state in the 17th century. He also goes on to say that several historical conditions and some conceptual structures are needed in nationalism and Xanî's discourse doesn't contain these elements.[83] He suggests that Ehmedê Xanî can be seen as a patriot rather than a Kurdish nationalist.[84]

In his article about the role Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn had in the Kurdish Nationalist awakening, Martin Van Bruinessen notes that the verses Ehmedê Xanî wrote in the

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[80] Martin Van Bruinessen , *Ehmedî Xanî's Mem û Zîn and its Role in the Emergence of Kurdish National Awareness,,inEssays on the origins of Kurdish nationalism*, Kurdish studies series, no. 4 (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 43.
[81] Amir. Hassanpour, *Nationalism and language in Kürdistan, 1918-1985* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), 56.
[82] Jemal Nebez, *Bîrî natawayîy Kurdî: na bîrî «qawmîyet»î rojhałātî, na bîrî «nasyonalîzm»î rojhawayî ya*, Kobarham zhimāra 2 (Stockholm: SOKSE, 1984), 34–35.
[83] Abbas Vali, *Genealogies of the Kurds: Constructions of Nation and National Identity in Kurdish History writing, in Essays on the origins of Kurdish nationalism*, 2003, 94.
[84] Ibid., 92.

introduction part has some nationalistic undertones. Although he sees these undertones he goes on to say that it wouldn't be reasonable to trace Kurdish nationalism from the 17th century as it would have been impossible to talk about a Kurdish State at that time.[85]

In his work titled Ottoman Empire and Kurdish Nationalism, Hakan Özoğlu suggests a similar idea and thinks that it would be a slight chance that Ehmedê Xanî would request a Kurdish Nation State in the 17th century. He also suggests that Xanî's wish for a Kurdish Sultan wouldn't necessarily mean that Kurdish Nationalism existed as a political movement in the 17th century.[86]

Maybe the question to be asked after the discussions above is when did Kurds discover the nationalistic message of Xanî? Mela Mehmûdê Bazidî (1797-1867) talks about Xanî's Mem û Zîn as a love story in his work Cami'yi Risaleyan û Hikayetan which he co-wrote with the Russian Alexandre Jaba.[87] Martins Van Bruinessen states that the first person that discovers the nationalist message in Ehmedê Xanî's discourse was Hacî Qadirê Koyî.[88] Amir Hassanpour sees Hacî Koyî as the second important figure of Kurdish nationalism after Ehmedê Xani.[89] We couldn't say Amir Hassanpour is totally wrong. From the beginning of Kurdish publishing history in 1898 to the time the journal *Jîn* started to be published, we come across Koyî's poems and authors who were influenced by his poetry.

a. Kurdish Revolts in 19th Century and the importance of this in the emergence of the Kurdish Press

Nationalist movements that started in the Balkans during the first quarter of the 19th century spread around all over the Balkans by the end of the century. When the Ottoman politicians

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[85] Martin Van Bruinessen , *Ehmedî Xanî's Mem û Zîn and its Role in the Emergence of Kurdish National Awareness,,in*Ibid., 43.
[86] Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği*, 2005, 46.
[87] M. Alexandre Jaba, *Recueıl de Notices et Recits Kourdes* (St . Petersuourg: Imprime par ordre de L'Academie, 1860), 15. Kürtçe kısım
[88] *Essays on the origins of Kurdish nationalism*, Kurdish studies series, no. 4 (Costa Mesa, Calif: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 71.
[89] Amir Hassanpour, *Kürdistan'da Milliyet ve Dil 1918-1985* (Istanbul: Avesta, 2005), 131.

realised this would divide the Ottoman Empire, they began to find ways to change the structure of the empire. As a result, the state abandoned traditional ruling methods and started to make efforts towards centralisation.[90]

Efforts towards centralisation created displeasure among semi-independent Kurdish emirates resulting in a conflict between Kurdish emirates and the state.[91] Many big and small revolts occurred during this period but we will briefly mention two in particular, as it is relevant to our subject matter. The first one is the Bedirxan Bey Revolt between the monarch of Cizre-Botan, Emir Bedirxan and Ottoman military in 1847, which ended in Bedirxan Bey's surrender.[92] Whether Bedirxan Bey's revolt was nationalistic or not is a debate between scholars of the subject. What is more interesting for the history of the Kurdish press and Kurdish nationalism is the result of this revolt rather than the revolt itself.

After quelling the revolt, the Ottoman Empire's political decision was to send Bedirxan Bey and his family to the west of the empire in exile.[93] Bedirxan Bey's children were educated in modern establishments and they worked in various positions in the government.[94] They also had prominent roles within the Kurdish movement in later years.

Sheik Ubeydullah's revolt in the last quarter of the 19th century came to the fore with its nationalistic demands. After the power vacuum created with the dissemination of the emirates in Kurdistan, sheiks became political leaders.[95] Sheikh Ubeydullah Nehri was one of these

[90] Ortaylı İlber, imparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2000 s.29
[91] Jwaideh Wadie, Kürt Milliyetçiliğinin Tarihi, İletişim yayınları, istanbul, 2008 s. 115,130,151
[92] Brunissen Martin Van, Ağa, Şeyh, Devlet, İletişim yayınları, İstanbul, 2008 s.277
[93] Ramiz Ahmet, Emir Bedirhan , 1907 yılında yazdığı kitabında, 1847 Bedirhan Bey isyanından sonra kendisinin ve ailesinin önce İstanbul'a daha Sonra Girit'e sürgün edildiğini belirtmektedir.
[94] Özoğlu Hakan, Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt Milliyetçiliği,Kitap yayınevi, İstanbul, 2005 s.155
[95] İbid .,p 342

leaders and his revolt against Iran and the Ottoman Empire in 1880-1881 ended with the Ottomans quelling the revolt.[96]

In his book where he examines Kurdish Nationalism, Robert Olson talks about Sheikh Ubeydullah's revolt as the first Kurdish nationalistic revolt and he references the letter the Sheikh sent to vice-consular in Hakkari. The Sheikh uses the following expressions in his letter:

"Kurdish people are a different nation. Their religion is different as well as their laws and traditions. We are a different nation too (from Persians and Ottomans). We want to be able to take responsibility for our own affairs so we can punish our own criminals in a strong and independent manner. And we would like to have priviliges like other nations. European countries should understand us."[97]

Continual poor managements of Persians and Ottomans in Kurdistan as Sheikh Ubeydullah mentioned in his letter had an impact on the initiation of the revolt as much as the Ottoman Empire's signing of the Treaty of Berlin on the 13th of July 1878. The 61st section of the agreement was committing to make reforms in favour of the Armenians. Ubeydullah sent a letter to the governor of Van Başkale in 1880 and he wrote that he heard about the plans of Armenians gaining an independent state in Van and if he had to arm women to prevent this, he would without hesitation.[98] We can see from the verse below that the prominent poet Hacî Qadirê Koyî shares the same concerns with Sheikh Ubeydullah:

Cezire and Botan territory namely Kurd's homeland
Unfortunately is about to become Armenia [99]

It is possible to see the concern of "Kurdistan" becoming Armenia in Kurdish newspapers and journals that were published from this period till the establishment of the Turkish republic.

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[96] Olson Robert, The emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925 University of Texas Press s.5

[97] Olson Robert, The emergence of Kurdish Nationalism and the Sheikh Said Rebellion, 1880-1925 University of Texas Press s s.2.

[98] Hakan Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği* (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2009), 98.

[99] Hacî Qadirê Koyî, *Dîwanî Hacî Qadirê Koyî*, Serdar Hemid Miran, Kerim Mistefa Şareza (Kürdistan Yayıncılık: Kürdistan Publication, 1390), 93.
[Xakê Cezire û Botan ya'nê welatê Kurdan
Sed heyf û mixabin deyken be Ermenistan]

5. The Kurdish Press in the Ottoman Empire or the Ottoman-Kurdish Press

It is widely accepted that the newspaper Kurdistan, which was published by Mikdad Mithat Bedirxan was the beginning of the Kurdish Press[100]. In this part, which I will look into periodicals published during the period between 1898 and 1914, I will mainly rely on these studies; Li Kurdistana Bakûr û li Tirkiyeyê Rojnamegeriya Kurdî (Kurdish Press in North Kurdistan and Turkey), written by Malmisanij and Mahmûd Lewendî,[101] Osmanlı Dönemi Kürt Basını (Kurdish Press during Ottoman Period), dissertation by Fetullah Kaya[102] and Kürt Basını (Kurdish Press) written by Müslüm Yücel[103]. I will also look into some periodicals, which are not mentioned in these three studies.

First of all, I believe that dealing with a 'Kurdish Press' as a concept has some problems since it is difficult to draw concrete boundaries in the classification of a Kurdish Press. I mean it is difficult to decide if a publication can be named as being part of a Kurdish Press or not; which criterions shall we rely on. When we make a classification referring to the language in which the publication is written, surely we should leave out publications like *Şark ve Kürdistan, Peyman, Ümid and Amid-i Sevda* since they were not written in Kurdish. Furthermore, we come across some Armenian periodicals which have some articles written in Kurdish[104]. This brings the problem that we should classify these Armenian periodicals in the Kurdish Press as well. Therefore, language cannot be a criterion in the classification.

Similarly, if we choose to classify according to the foundation who publish the peridoidcals, namely whether the periodical was published by a Kurdish foundation or not, we will have to

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[100] M. Emî Bozarslan ve M. Emî Bozarslan, *Kurdistan : rojnama Kurdî ya pêşîn : ilk Kürd gazetesi : 1898-1902* (Uppsala: We, 1991).

[101] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)* (Uppsala: Jina Nû Förlaget, 1989).

[102] Kaya Fetullah, Kürt Basını, (İstanbul: Hivda Yayınları, 2010)

[103] Müslüm Yücel, *Kürt basın tarihi: Tekzip*, Aram yayınları ; Araştırma-inceleme 4. 3 (İstanbul: Aram Basın Yayın, 1998).

[104] *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda sosyalizm ve milliyetçilik 1876-1923: Türkiye'de sosyalizmin oluşmasında ve gelişmesindeetnik ve dinsel toplulukların (Makedon, Yahudi, Rum, Bulgar ve Ermeni Anasır'ın) rolü*, 3. baskı, İletişim yayınları 282 (İstanbul: İletişim, 2004), 145.

leave out the first Kurdish newspaper *Kurdistan, Şark ve Kürdistan, Peyman, Ümid, Amid-i Sevda and Dicle (İçtihad, Serbesti)* since they were published individually.

When we name all the publications for which Kurdish notables wrote as examples of the Kurdish press, then we will have to classify the newspaper *Tanin* as a Kurdish periodical since Ismail Hakkı Babanzade who was a well-known Kurdish elite took part in Kurdish Societies founded after the second constitution since he regularly wrote for the newspaper *Tanin*. It is for sure that, one can not classify the newspaper Tanin, which was the organ of *The Committee of Union and Progress* and has a Turkist point of view, as a Kurdish periodical.

Furthermore, it is known that, Kurdishness was the main motivation for the Kurdish elites and Kurdish foundations who published periodicals during this period. However, it is not for sure that these elites identified themselves only as Kurdish. In most of the periodicals, which I will look into, the writers did not hesitate to use statements like "Kurds who have the honourable Ottoman identity.

As a result, because of the reasons I mentioned above, I believe that it will be better to use 'Ottoman Kurdish Press' instead of 'Kurdish Press" which were published before Armistice period. In addition, it is clear that in order to name a periodical among the Ottoman Kurdish Press it is not enough to only look into one of the following features; the periodical's language, the periodical's owner or the context of the periodical. I believe that in order to name it as a Kurdish periodical, it should have at least two of the following features; the periodical should be in Kurdish, the owner of the periodical should be Kurdish or there should be issues about Kurds in the periodical.

Now that I mentioned my criteria regarding the classification of the Kurdish press, I will have a brief look into the periodicals up to *Jîn*.

a. Kurdistan Newspaper 1898-1902

Kurdistan Newspaper started to be published on the 22nd of April, 1898 in Cairo by Bedirxan Bey's son Mikdad Midhat Bedirxan. We can examine this newspaper in two periods. The first period is made up of 5 issues that Midhat Bedirxan published in Cairo. It follows an editorial policy that goes hand in hand with the sentence in the first page of the newspaper that says "it warns Kurds and encourages them to have education in the industry field".[105] Midhat Bedirxan mainly asks Kurdish traditional leaders such as land-owners, sheiks, emirates and ulemas to take leadership responsibilities towards the social progress of the Kurds. Two of the major topics of this period were the Russians' invasion of "Kurdistan" and the Christians' wishes to dominate "Kurdistan".[106] In the second issue of the newspaper, was mentioned Ehmedê Xanî and parts of Mem û Zîn began to be published. In the third issue of the newspaper, an article mentioning the importance of newspapers and novels by Hacî Qadirê Koyî was published. In the first five issues there is a conception of identifying Kurds as part of the Ottoman Empire.

In the sixth issue of the newspaper, the main motivation of the newspaper being published is explained in the verse below by Ehmedê Xanî

That all sorts of peoples have their books, and only the Kurds are negligible[107]

As well as bringing up the fact that Kurdish taxpayer's money being spent on building schools for Turks.[108] Midhat Bedirxan talks about how Kurds should oppose the government's approach and how they should see Albanians as an example because of the way they stuck together and imposed their demands on Abdülhamid II.[109] The time of the publication was around the time of Abdülhamid II's leaning towards creating an alliance with the Kurds as the

[105] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, çev., *Kurdistan : Rojnama Kurdî ya pêşîn. Cild 1* (Uppsala: We, 1991), 111.
[106] Ibid., 134.
[107] Ehmedê Xanî, *Mem û Zîn*, İstanbul: Kürd Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti, 1335, 15. [Enwaê millet xweykitêb in, Kurmancî tenê di bêhesêb in]
[108] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 179.
[109] Ibid., 267.

power balances were changing and there were also Russian and Armenian issues. Therefore the main issue Abdurrahman Bedirxan touched upon in the newspaper was the relationship between Kurds and Armenians as well as Hamidiye Cavalry in accordance to this subject.

Regarding the Armenian issue, Abdurrahman Bedirxan defended the idea that the oppressed should join forces and act together so he emphasised for the Kurds and Armenians to become allies.[110] He also mentioned how Abdülhamit II was provoking Kurds to see Armenians as the enemy but how they actually didn't see them as such and he also wrote about how Armenians and Kurds who are aware of Abdülhamit II's motives were already becoming allies.[111] He kept the Hamidiye Cavalry out of this conversation and suggested that the Hamidiye Cavalry was both the enemy of Kurds and Armenians. According to him, Kurdistan was divided into three different groups. Armenians, the Hamidiye Cavalry and Kurds who didn't join the Hamidiye Cavalry.[112] He also mentioned how some European Countries thought of Kurds as ignorant barbarians and wished for "Kurdistan" to become "Armenia". He went on to say that Kurds would be right in their struggle against Kurdistan becoming Armenia but he also warned Kurds against killing Armenians.[113]

The tough stance Abdurrahman Bedirxan took towards the Hamidiye Cavalry could have been for two reasons. First, the changing of the balance of power in Kurdistan after the forming of the Hamidiye Cavalry and more importantly how new forces emerged in the land that the Bedirxani family was claiming as theirs. Abdurrahman Bedirxan was a member of this family. Second, the fact that Abdurrahman Bedirxan had close relations with Armenian organisations while he was in Europe and how the Armenian events that were taking place in Kurdistan were creating a negative image for the Kurds in European public opinion.

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, çev., *Kurdistan : Rojnama Kurdî ya pêşîn. Cild 2* (Uppsala: We, 1991), 492.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 199.

Between the eighth and the fourteenth issues Abdurrahman Bedirxan had a series of writings called The History of Cizre Rulers and he ended these writings with Bedirxan Bey.[114] Surely it was a conscious decision for Abdurrahman Bedirxan to discuss the history of Cizre rulers in his newspaper, as he was a member of the Bedirxani family who were the last rulers of Cizre. He also published a short biography of Selahattin Eyyubi in his newspaper.[115] Talking about the Eyyubi and Mervani states.[116] It is important to refer to Selahattin Eyyubi as an historical figure in the newspaper as it refers to his efforts in Islam as a Kurdish person. Surely it wasn't a coincidence to refer to him as a historical figure in many Kurdish newspapers and journals that were published during the armistice period.

Abdurrahman Bedirxan conducted a discussion about roots by saying that Kurds were the successors of Qardus who were known as the enemy of Assyrians. According to Abdurrahman Bedirxan, the other that is created by the nature of nationalism* are the Turks. He suggests that Kurds are able to have people suitable enough to rule themselves and they don't need Turks to rule them.[117] He goes on to say that even really small countries were gaining their independence and living happily while the merciless Sultan rules Kurds as if the Kurds are created to serve the Turks and the Sultan.[118]

Although Abdurrahman Bedirxan belonged to one of the ruling families of Kurds called the Emirate families, he didn't only call out to the Sheiks, ulemas and emirates but he also called out to ordinary Kurdish people to urge them to take their space in history. Although the *Kurdistan* Newspaper cannot be called nationalistic as a whole, it can be said that some articles surely had a nationalistic discourse.

[114] Ibid., 213.
[115] Ibid., 300.
[116] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 427.
[117] Ibid., 473.
[118] Ibid., 472.

b. The Newspaper Ummid- 1900

This newspaper was published by M. Saleh Bey Bedirkhan in Cairo. He is one of the members of the Bedirxan Family. Actually there isn't much information about the newspaper but we know M. Saleh Bedirxan was an important contributing pen for the *Roj-i Kurd*, and *Yekbûn*, which were published by *Hêvî, the Kurdish Student Society.*[119]

We don't know how many issues of *Ummid* were published. We have only the second issue of the newspaper. This was published on the first of September in 1900. On the cover of the newspaper, it is stated that, 'It is a political Newspaper which issues biweekly'. There appears the newspaper's name and the owner's name in Latin script on the cover.[120] In this issue, there is an article, which is about the celebrations of the 25th anniversary of Abdulhamit's ascending the throne. In addition, there are some hadis of Prophet Muhammad. The oppositions against Abdulhamit relied on religious issues. This reminds us of Şükrü Hanioğlu's statements that the elites at this period, gave a functional importance to the religion, in order to spread out their points of view. We come across the same situation on the pages of Kurdistan as well.[121]

c. Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper 1908/1909

One of the organisations that opened in İstanbul after the announcement of the Second Constitutional Era *was Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti (The Society for the Mutual Aid and Progress of Kurdistan).* Nine issues of the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper* were published between 1908 and 1909 by this organisation.[122]

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[119] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*, 59.
[120] https://sureli.mkutup.gov.tr/sayfagoster.php?path=/sureli/2010/gazete/1432/lowres/0002.jpg&sd
[121] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet Ve Dönemi*, İşletme ve iktisat serisi 3 (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981). p. 134-135
[122] Bozarslan M. Emin *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi,* Deng Yayınevi, Uppsala, 1998 s. 5

We can see the optimism and hope that dominated the political atmosphere of the 2nd constitutional era in this newspaper too. It was mostly believed that the hardship experienced in "Kurdistan" was going to be dealt with the help of the Committee of Union and Progress and the Ottoman Constitution (Kanun-i Esasi), which was established through the help of the army.[123]

Issues between the Armenians and Kurds and the conflict that appears as a result of these issues were frequently encountered in the newspaper.[124]

The belief of reaching Kurdish enlightenment and progress would be through education was the joint opinion of the newspapers writers. To have the grammar and alphabet books to be written alongside education was within the guidelines of the organisation[125] as well as being one of the highlighted subjects in the articles.[126] *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper* differs from the previous Kurdish newspapers like *Kürdistan* and *Ümid* with the diversity of writers and the addition of articles written in Sorani and Kurmanji dialects. It can be said that this press had Ottomanism as a dominant ideology.

d. The Newspaper Şark ve Kurdistan (East and Kurdistan)

The newspaper was published by Malatyalı Bedri, Hersekli Ahmed Şerif and Hersekli İsmail after the second constitution.[127] It was published in Ottoman Turkish. The two prominent topics were the Balkans and Kurdistan. In one of his articles Malatyalı Bedri, who was the lead writer of the newspaper, states that the main reason that Kurds were backwards was that Kurdish tribes did not adopt a a sedentary life and he accused the Ottomans of being the

[123] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, çev., *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi : kovara kurdî-tirkî/kurdî* (Uppsala: Deng, 1998).s.392
[124] Ibid.,127, 340.
[125] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, Genişletilmiş 2. baskı (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 411.
[126] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, 142.
[127] Kaya Fetullah, *Osmanlı Döneminde Kürt Basını*, MA. Dissertation, İstanbul:Marmara University, Social Sciences Institute, 2008. p.51.

reason for this failure.[128] Another writer who wrote about Kurds was Said-i Kurdi. Said-i Kürdi claims that the reason for the backwardness of Kurds was the insufficiency of the educational foundation in Kurdistan. He adds that because the substantial schools gave education in Turkish, Kurdish children could not benefit from them. At the end of his article Said-i Kurdi states that the education must be in Kurdish in Kurdistan.[129]

e. The Newspaper Kurdistan 1908/1909

This newspaper was published by Süreyya Bedirxan, who was one of the members of the Bedirxani family, in 1908.[130] This newspaper was indicated as different from the newspaper Kurdistan, which was published in 1898, by some sources. However, looking into the cover, it is understood from the number of the issue and the year, that it was accepted by the owner as the successor of the previous one. There is no exact information on the total number of the published issues. The periodical was published in both Kurdish-Kurmancî dialect and Ottoman Turkish. On the cover of the newspaper there is the expression of 'The newspaper which encourages Kurds in science and enlightenment'. It is clear from the third and fourth issues that the newspaper is the Bedirxan family's private newspaper. Many articles in the newspaper belong to the members of this family.[131]

f. The Newspaper Peyman (Pact) / 1909

It was the first private newspaper published in Diyarbakır after the second constitution. The articles written in the newspaper were mainly about Diyarbakir and its problems. Mirikatibizade Şükrü was the owner of the newspaper and A. Baki was the editor of the newspaper. Although it is mentioned that forty-seven issues of the newspaper were published,

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[128] Akpınar Alişan And Others, Bir II. Meşrutiyet Gazetesi olarak Şark ve Kurdistan, Mütefferika Kitabiyat Dergisi Yaz 2009/2 Isbn: 1300-6479, İstanbul, p.4

[129] Akpınar Alişan And Others, Bir II. Meşrutiyet Gazetesi olarak Şark ve Kurdistan, Mütefferika Kitabiyat Dergisi Yaz 2009/2 Isbn: 1300-6479, İstanbul, p.18

[130] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981),* 43.

[131] *KÜRDİSTAN (Haftalık). Kürtleri tahsil-i ulûm ve fünuna ve hüsn-ü amizaşe teşvik için gazetedir. Müdür-i mes'ul: Ahmed Süreyya. İstanbul. 4° Mevcut sayılar: 1324:264/3,264/4 Erzurum Atatürk Üniversiesi Seyfettin Özege Salonu numbers of place: 267/Sö*

the number that is certain is thirty-six.[132] Ahmet Cemil was the leading writer of the newspaper in the second year. He was also the leading writer in the newspaper Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi. The newspaper, which was politically claimed to be Ottoman later showed a tendency towards Ittihat Terakki. Among the issues of the newspaper, only in the twelfth issue is there an article in Kurdish. Most of the articles were without any signatures.[133]

g. The Newspaper Amîd-î Sevda (Amed of Love) /1909

The owner of the newspaper, which was published by Ali Emiri in 1909, was Şükrü Amedi. On the cover of the newspaper there is the statement that it was a biweekly, social and scientific newspaper.[134] It is not clear how many issues were published, but the first five issues are available in the National Library of Turkey. Ali Emir-I wrote the articles about the history of Kurdistan and Diyarbakir. Almost all the writers were from Diyarbakir.[135]

h. The Newspaper Dicle (Tigris) / 1909

On the issue of the newspaper *Peyman* published on July 6, 1909, there was an announcement which said that Attarzade Hakkı Efendi had applied to the inertial Ministry in order to publish a newspaper in Kurdish and Turkish and it was approved.[136] The announcement went on by saying that it would be published in a short time. However the newspaper was published on March 13th, 1911. There was no sign that the newspaper was to be published in Kurdish and Turkish on the cover. From the 90th issue the newspaper began to be published with the name *"Diyarbakır'da Dicle"*.[137] It is known that the newspaper was published up to its 140th issue. The newspaper generally published news form Diyarbakir and its surroundings. There were

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[132] Issı Murat, e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi -www.e-sarkiyat.com- ISSN: 1308-9633 Sayı: VII, Nisan 2012 p. 93
[133] Issı Murat, e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi -www.e-sarkiyat.com- ISSN: 1308-9633 Sayı: VII, Nisan 2012 p. 96
[134] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*, 45.
[135] http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/asw/tur/htu/data/HTU0102/index.djvu
[136] Issı Murat, e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi -www.e-sarkiyat.com- ISSN: 1308-9633 Sayı: VII, Nisan 2012 p. 100
[137] http://www.tufs.ac.jp/common/fs/asw/tur/htu/data/HTU0519/index.djvu

some articles about social and political life in Diyarbakir. Diyarbakırlı Ahmet Cemil, who was the editor of *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, also wrote many articles for this newspaper.

i. Rojî Kurd Journal 1913

It started to be published in 1913 as a journal of *Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti (Kurdish student Hope Society)* that was formed in 1912 by Kurdish university students who lived in Istanbul.[138]

It was published when the liberal atmosphere that was around during the Second Constitutional Era was dispersed and the *Committee of Union and Progress* started to adopt a nationalistic program.[139] Kurds and the *Committee of Union and Progress* became alienated because of the elections that went down in history as the election with sticks. *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası (Freedom and Accord Party)* known for its decentralisation (Adem-i merkeziyetçi) programme was supported.[140] In 1912 the *Committee of Union and Progress* performed a coup d'etat and seized power completely, using the heavy losses in the Balkan wars as an opportunity. Resulting in the destruction of the liberal democratic mood that the Second Constitutional Era had brought. As the Turkish cultural centres, which were formed in 1912, became political movements and the ideology of Ottomanism became the ideology of Turkishness, there appeared the need for other Muslim members of the Ottoman Empire like Arabs, Albanians and Kurds to be organised.[141] *Roj-î Kurd* was published in this kind of period and it differs from other post-Second Constitutional Era press that had an " honourable Ottoman identity" as a dominant discourse.

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[138] Malmîsanij, *Kürt Talebe- Hêvi Cemiyeti,* Avesta yayınları, İstanbul, 2002 s. 50
[139] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, 1984, 11.
[140] *Rojî Kurd 1913*, Koma Xebatên Kurdoljiyê, Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu (Istanbul: İstanbul Kürt Enstitüsü, 2013), 212–213.
[141] Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kürdistan = (Kürdistan davası): Kürt milletinin 60 yıllık esaretten kurtuluş savaşı hatıraları*, 2. basım (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 1991), 33.

Two productive writers of *Rojî Kurd* journal Mehmet Salih Bedirxan[142] and Xelîl Xeyalî[143] took excerpts from Mem û Zîn and Hacî Qadirê Koyî that had nationalistic tones and they emphasised that Kurds should know these verses by heart. Both writers stressed how essential Kurdish education was for advancement. Mehmet Salih Bedirxan concentrated on the issue of the alphabet and started to work towards simplifying the Arabic alphabet.[144] An important intellectual of the time, Abdullah Cevdet suggested that instead of simplifying the Arabic alphabet, it would be better to adopt the Latin alphabet.[145] On the other hand, İsmail Hakkı Babanzade related swapping of alphabets to swapping religion and he urged against adopting the Latin alphabet. Instead he was in favour of simplifying the Arabic alphabet.[146] There were also some nationalism debates in the journal. Dersim deputy Lütfi Fikri wrote about the era as being a nationalistic one and how inevitable it was to have nationalism even in the remote Kurdish villages. He also suggested that Kurds not join any separatist movements in order to keep the peace in Anatolia.[147] According to Harputlu H.B, nationalistic ideas were flourishing thanks to English, German and French as Arabs in Egypt and Tatars in Russia were aiming to advance their countries and he was hoping that Kurds would also advance their nation with nationalistic ideology.[148] Abdülaziz Baban said scholars and poets had a great impact on Germany and Italy winning wars and the idea of art for art's sake should be abandoned and the idea of art being for the people should be adopted. Hacî Qadirê Koyî should be taken as an example.[149]

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[142] *Rojî Kurd*, Koma Xebatên Kurdolojiyê, Kürdoloji Çalışmaları Grubu (İstanbul: Weşanên Enstîtuya Kurdî ya Stenbolê,İstanbul Kürt Enstitüsü, 2013), 189–194.
[143] Ibid., 194–196.
[144] *Rojî Kurd 1913*, 143–144.
[145] *Rojî Kurd*, 143–144.
[146] *Rojî Kurd 1913*, 171.
[147] *Rojî Kurd*, 298–300.
[148] Ibid., 245–246.
[149] *Rojî Kurd 1913*, 212–213.

If we look at *Rojî Kurd* in accordance with its subject matters and the historical figures it highlighted, it can be said that this journal was the first Kurdish journal where the basic elements of nationalistic rhetoric had been intensively discussed.

j. The Journal Yekbûn (Unity) 1913

Another journal published by *Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti* was *Yekbûn*. It was written in both Turkish and Kurdish and according to Malmîsanij, at least three issues were published.[150] In the third issue it is written that the aim of the journal was to familiarize Ottoman society with the Kurds and to improve the prestige of the Kurdish people in society. In the editorial of this issue Muncî Kurdî calls for an easing of the alphabet so that more Kurdish people could read and write. The writers of *Yekbûn and Roj-î Kurd* were almost the same.[151] Unfortunately, there are no issues of this journal in the libraries in Turkey.

k. Hetawî Kurd Journal 1913-1914

In his article, Uygur Kocabaşoğlu mentions the fact that some newspapers and journals of the Second Constitutional Era had to change their names in order to be able to carry on with their publishing rights.[152] This might be true for *Hetawî Kurd* as it is the successor of *Rojî Kurd*. *Hetawî Kurd* came out after *Rojî Kurd's* publication was stopped and in terms of content it acts as a follow up of the former newspaper.

The period this journal was published coincides with the time when the political agenda was busy with the reforms that were going to happen in Six Provinces (Vilayat-ı Sitte). Therefore we can see articles about the relationship between the Kurds and Armenians in this journal too. In the second edition of the journal Xelil Xeyalî writes about how Armenian intellectuals present Kurds as a barbaric, wild and uneducated nation to Europeans and how this was unfair

[150] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*, 59.
[151] Malmîsanij, *Li Kurdistana Bakur û li Tirkiyê rojnamegeriya Kurdî (1908-1981)*, 59-60
[152] Ankara Üniversitesi ve 1908-2008: Jön Türk Devriminin 100. Yılı, *100. yılında Jön Türk devrimi*, 1. baskı, Genel yayın 2050 (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2010), 168.

for them.[153] He also wrote about how Kurdish youth should go to "Kurdistan" to get to know Kurds and to work towards a social development instead of taking Armenian youth as an example and trying to get positions in Istanbul.

In an article about the press, the importance of it for building a nation was stressed and it was added that in order to achieve this, the press should abandon lexiphanicism and adopt a simple language, which all the Kurds would understand.[154] In an article where Sharafnama was taken as a basis to examine Kurdish dialects and where they were used, it was stated that the difference between dialects with respect to creating a common language wouldn't be a problem.[155]

In an article about how historical figures rooted in society played an important role in creating a national feeling, it was suggested to have biographies of Kurdish figures to be written and then to be read by children as it would help them have devotion to one's nation.[156] The way there was a sense of nostalgia in Rojî Kurd journal through calling out to Selahattin-i Eyyubi, Merwani, Rewanduz as well as Botan and Cezire leaders[157] in Hetawî Kurd journal there was attributions to a rooted literary language through references towards Nalî, Şêx Rıza, Hacî Abduqadirê Koyî and Ehmedê Xanî.[158] After the tenth issue was published on the 3rd of July, 1914, the journal probably came to an end by itself as the Ottoman Empire took part in World War I.

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[153] *Hetawî Kurd* sayı. 2 (4 Muharremu'l-haram 1332 / 21 Teşrînî Sanî 1329 / 4 Çileya Pêşîn 1913)s. 3-10
[154] Hetawî Kurd sayı.1 (23 Zilqe'de 1331 / 11 Teşrînî Ewwel 1329 / 24 Çiriya Pêşîn 1913) s.10
[155] Hetawî Kurd sayı 4 (5 Cemaziyu'l-Ewwel 1332 / 19 Mart 1330 / 1 Nîsan 1914)s4-6
[156] Hetawî Kurd sayı.1 (23 Zilqe'de 1331 / 11 Teşrînî Ewwel 1329 / 24 Çiriya Pêşîn 1913) s. 15-16
[157] *Rojî Kurd*, 222.
[158] Hetawî Kurd sayı.10 (9 Şe'ban 1332 / 20 Hezîran 1330 / 3 Temmûz 1914)s. 14-15

l. The Journal Bangî- Kurd (Call for Kurd/Kurdistan) 1914

Cemaleddîn Baban published this journal in 1914. The journal was written in both Kurdish and Turkish and acording to Dr. Kemal Mezher Ahmed, who oversaw the first three issues, each issue was 24 pages and it ended when WWI began. [159]

[159] Malmîsanij, Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti, İlk Legal Kürt Öğrenci Derneği, Avesta Yayınları, İstanbul 2002, p.154

Part B: A Case Study on "*Jin*" Journal

Chapter III: An overview on the story and content of *"Jîn"*

According to Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Jîn Journal*, which began to be published on the 7th of November, 1918, was the publication of *KTC*. [160] In his presentation section, M. Emin Bozarslan who did the transcription of 25 *Jîn* issues in to the Latin alphabets suggests that the journal *Jîn* was the illegal publication of the *Society for the Rise of Kurdistan*. [161] When we look at the list of the members of *KTC* put together by Oğuz Aytepe in his research about this organization using the archives of the General Directorate of security, we can see that some of the permanent contributers of the journal like Yüzbaşı Emin Bey, Kemal Fevzi, Abdürrahim Rahmi Zapsu, Müküslü Hamza and Süleymaniyeli Tevfik were also members of right of this organisation.[162] It is clear that *KTC*, which was opened in 6th of November 1917, [163] and the journal *Jîn* had an organic relationship. The owner and the concession manager of the journal was Müküslü Hamza who was also a member of right of the organisation.[164] Even if there is room for some debate about whether the journals were the press of the organisation, it can be said that the members of the organisation published the first nine issues. We can see that the ninth issue onwards was published by *Kürt Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for Spreading the Education and Publication*) from the declaration they published in the tenth issue of the journal *Jîn:*

> We strongly believe that we would achieve success by having hope and working with fierce national determination. Our organisation takes over the journal "*Jîn"* which has been published for a while and which will be published until God wishes. We are inviting our entire nation to a trial of effort and determination as well as donation and generosity. Success is from Allah.[165]

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[160] Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, 1984, cilt II, 190.
[161] Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 5.
[162] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14–16.
[163] Ibid., 10.
[164] Ibid., 15.
[165] *Kürd Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti Beyannamesi, Jîn,* issue, 10, p, 14. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, çev., *Jîn : kovara Kurdî-Tirkî. Cild 2* (Uppsala: Weşanxana Deng (Deng yayınevi), 1985), 487. [Me'yûs olmamak ve bir azm-i ateşîn-i mülî ile çalışmak şartıyle, muvaffak olacağımıza iman-ıkavî ile mü'min bulunuyoruz.Cemiyet,

The fact that the place for the organisation's meetings and member acceptance was shown as *KTC* demonstrates that this organization and *KTC* had a close collaboration. The following statement was written in the declaration about this organization's work:

When we were making decisions about the way our organisation would be run, we took into consideration the negative consequences of political work, which had been repeatedly tried and never proven itself to be more then a waste of time, power and joint effort. We decided to choose a completely scientific and absolutely non-political approach to our work[166]

Together with the citation above and the fact that the most of the writers of the journal being members of *KTC*, we can talk about a work share between Kurdish organisations during the armistice period. In this work share *KTMNC* aimed to make scientific studies about the origins of the Kurdish language, literature and history. It can be said that the journal *Jîn* had 25 issues published suitable for this purpose. Twenty third issue was published two months after the twenty second one. In the apology letter published regarding the delay, they mentioned the fact that they were trying to turn *Jîn* into a daily newspaper but there were delays in the official process. The thirty third issue of *Jîn* we have at hand is made of four pages in a newspaper format and similarly the thirty sixth issue published was made of two pages. Therefore we can say that *Jîn* must have been published as a newspaper after the twenty fifth issue.

1. Content of the journal

The armistice period refers to an important breaking point for Kurds like all the other ethnic groups that lived within the Ottoman Empire until that time. We can see the traces of this breaking point in the journal *Jîn* that was published around that time. Although this journal seriously differs from its forerunners with its angle on the nationalistic discourse, in other

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bir zamandan beri ilâ maşaallah intişar eden "*Jîn*" mecmuasını zîr-i idaresine alarak, bu vasıta ile bütün milletdaşlarını ımtıhan-ı sa y-u sebat ve meydan-ı kerem ve sehavete davet ediyor. Tevfik Allah'tandır.]

[166] Kürd Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti Beyannamesi, Jîn, issue, 10, p, 14. Ibid. [Cemiyetin hudud-ı faaliyetini tayin ederken, teşrik-i mesai ve izaai kuvvet ve zamandan başka mahsul vermediği kıraren tecrübe edilmiş bulunan siyasî çalışmaların netayic-i menfiyesini nazar-ı ıntıbahe alarak tamamen ilmî ve katiyen gayri siyasî bir programın saha-ı fule ihracını hedef-ı mesai ittihaz etmeye karar verdik]

subjects it feels like it is a continuation of them. As we will do the detailed content analysis of Jîn in the fifth chapter, I will shortly try to look into the subjects that were frequently discussed.

One of the most covered topics in the journal is the discussion of origin. Although there were debates about origin in the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* as predecessors of Jîn, this journal was the first one with a systemic execution of the discussions of the origin of the Kurds. Many writers of the journal stress the fact that the Kurds origins are Irani and especially the writing of Yüzbaşı Emin Bey with the pen name of Kurdiyê Bitlîsî come to the fore with this issue.

It is possible to see articles about the history of Kurdistan and historical Kurdish figures in the journals published before *Jîn* as well but again this topic was systematically worked on in Jîn. We can also see translations made from foreign articles for the first time. The determination of national dates and the mythicization of historical figures are also in the forefront of the journal.

The Fourteen Points and the Paris Peace Conference were some of the important political discussions of the time and naturally the writers of the journal discussed these topics too. The writers of the journal praised the Fourteen Points as it provided legitimacy to the national demands of Kurds. The Paris Peace Conference was referred to as a conference that helped determine the future of the nations.

The Armenian issue is one of the most important issues that was discussed in *Jîn* and in all the other Kurdish press that started with the *Kürdistan Newspaper*. There were a lot of articles comparing the situation of Kurdish and Armenian refuges that had fled Russian occupation during World War I and in these articles, concerns of how Kurdish refugees didn't get the same help that was given to Armenian refugees were expressed. Undoubtedly another very sensitive subject about the relationship between Kurds and Armenians during the armistice

period was the Six Provinces and how both nations claimed sovereignty over these areas. The highlight of the articles written on this subject was the fact that the majority of the population belonged to Kurds in these areas according to population statistics and therefore they should have the right to sovereignty.

In literature, often references were made to Ahmedê Xanî. Melayê Cizîrî, Nalî and Haci qadirê Koyi and especially there was announcements about the publication of Ahmedê Xanî's work called Mem û Zîn. At the same time, Kurdish proverbs were put together for the first time by Law Reşid and Siverekli Hilmi and published in *Jîn*. Emphasis on the history of Kurdish literature and references to historical figures could be observed in the Kurdish press before the journal *Jîn* too so we can say that there had been continuity in this area.

But *Jîn* was the first journal where the creation of a common literary language was discussed.

Surely one of the on-going issues of the Kurdish press during the Ottoman period was the education and enlightenment through education. The fact that there had always been organisations that dealt with cultural and educational affairs alongside the political organisations during the Constitutional and armistice eras indicates the importance of these subjects. The dissemination of education had been one of the on-going subjects between the times of the *Kürdistan newspaper* until the journal *Jîn*. However, while the press before *Jîn* were calling out to sheiks, landowners and masters to encourage the spread of education, in the journal *Jîn* these social groups were seen as the cause of underdevelopment. Correspondingly, youth was singled out as being the vanguard of social progress in *Jîn*.

2. Physical Properties/ Printing Location/Owner/Publishing Dates

M. Emin Bozarslan who did the facsimile and the translation of the journal doesn't say anything about the size of the journal. The 24th issue was found in the National library and the size of it is said to be 25 cm. We can say that 25 cm would be the vertical size of the journal. Although M.Emin Bozarslan states that 15th, 16th and 24th issues were 28 pages and the rest of them were 20 pages[167] actually the issues that has 28 pages were the 14th, 15th and 25th ones. The first four issues had the statement that said weekly newspaper written underneath the name and they were published weekly. After the fourth issue, instead of the statement above, the Turkish meaning of Jîn "Hayat"(Life) was written underneath the name of the journal. The 23rd and 25th issues differ from the others as it was published every week or two from the fifth issue onwards but the 23rd issue came out around two months after the 22nd and 25th came out about a month after the 24th issue which was 02.10.1919.

All 25 issues were published by Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası in İstanbul. This is the same printing house where *Rojî Kurd* and *Hetawî Kurd* journals were printed. The *Kürdistan* journal, which came out at the same time as Jîn as well as some Kurdish books, were published here too.

We can see Müküslü Hamza named as the owner and the concession manager of the journal for the first twenty issues. We then come across Vanlı Memduh Selim as the owner and the concession manager starting from the twenty first issue. The twenty third issue was published two months after the twenty second one and in the apology letter published for the delay, they mentioned the fact that they were trying to turn *Jîn* into a daily newspaper but there were delays in the official process. Presumably *Jîn* was published as a newspaper after the 25th

[167] Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 97.

issue and the 33rd and the 36th issues we have at hand also shows Memduh Selim as the the owner and the concession manager.

It can be seen that the main language of the theoretical and political articles were written in Ottoman Turkish while Turkish as well as Sorani and Kurmanji dialects of the Kurdish language were also used. Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu stands out as the writer who uses Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish while Qazizade Mustafa Şevki stands out as the one who uses Sorani dialect.

Chapter IV: The writers of "Jîn" and their socio-economic background

Unfortunately there hasn't been a comprehensive study about the writers of *Jîn*. Below we will go through some short biographies of several writers but there are also writers, which we can't find any information about apart from their articles in *Jîn*. Some examples of the prolific cadre of the journal includes writers like Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, Abdullah Cevdet, Müküslü Hamza, Arvasizade Şefik, Qazizade Mustafa Şevki, Mehmed Mihri and Diyarbekirli Fikri Necdet who have other works published in Kurdish newspapers and Journals of the Constitutional Era. Additional to those writers, we can see writers such as Kurdiyê Bitlisi, Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu, Kemal Fevzi, Süleymaniyeli Nejdet, Süleymaniyeli Vedad, Kamuran Bedirxan and Siverekli Hilmi whom we come across in Jîn Journal for the first time.

The important writers of both the *Kürdistan* and *Jîn* Journals like Mehmed Mihri, Arvasizade Şefik, Müküslü Hamza and Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu are known for their madrasa education and being students of an important Kurd-Islam scholar of the time named Said-i Kürdi.

Kurdiyê Bitlisi, Abdülaziz Yamulki, Kemal Fevzi and Emin Feyzi are among the writers who have military background. The main subject discussed by these four writers with a military background was usually history. This can be explained by the subjects they studied during their education.

Kamuran Ali Bedirxan and Yamulkizade Abdülaziz who came from important Kurdish families of the era were among the cadre of the journal.

Writers we have some information about seem to belong to several job descriptions like doctors, lawyers, teachers, governors and soldiers. Kamuran Ali Bedirxan and Yamulkizade Abdülaziz were the only ones who belonged to important families and also needing to be mentioned is the fact that there were no women writers.

1. **Abdurrahim Rahmi [Zapsu] (1890-1958)**

Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu was born in 1890 in Başkale and after his education in madrasa he took an exam in 1912 at the Van Darülmuallimin School to become a teacher. He worked as a teacher intermittently until 1924. With the diploma he gained in 1928 from Finance Vocational School he started to work as a merchandise manager in Midyat and Taşköprü as well as working as an accrual accounting chief in Manisa. [168]

Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu's politics and opinions can be examined in three categories as the Constitutional Era, the armistice period and the period after the armistice. While he was earning a living by being a teacher, First World War started and he joined the Bitlis Voluntary Regiment with Commander Said-i Kürdi and ended up being injured and became a prisoner of war.[169]

The period he became free and came to İstanbul coincides with the armistice period when *Jîn* Journal was being published. Zapsu was politically and creatively very active in this period. He had poems and writings published in almost all of *Jîn* Journals mostly about education, patriotism and bravery. Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu's articles in the journal were mostly about the hardship Kurdish refugees experienced while they were running away from Russian soldiers. In his articles comparing the conditions of Armenian and Kurdish refugees, he stressed the fact that although the Kurdish refugees were in a worst situation no one was paying attention to them. Another literary work the journal *Jîn*'s Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu was known for was publishing the first Kurdish play in two sections. This play is also very important being the first play written in Kurdish. [170] The concept of the play was Selahattin-i Eyyubi concurring of Jerusalem and the play tackles the national and religious reasons for the hero of the play to participate in this conquest. This play gives us a clue about the world of

[168] Ahmet Özcan, *İmparatorluk Çökerken Yeni Bir Ulus Tahayyülü* (Ankara: Lotus, 2007), 35.
[169] E.S.A-MT-060966/104161
[170] Dr. Ferhad Pîrbal, *Mêjûy Şano Le Edebiyatê Kurdî de Le Konewe ta 1957* (Hewler: Aras Yayıncılık, 2001), 51.

thought of Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu. Like the hero of the play called Mem, his identity is made out of two important factors, Religious and national values. We learn that Zapsu was a member of right of KTC[171] and as well as his literary work he carried on with his political involvement from the memoires written by Kurdish writers of the time.[172] Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu used pen names like Hakkarili Abdurrahim Rahmi, A. Rahmi and Ji Mala Hekariyan A. Rahmi while he was writing for Jîn. Zapsu also had his writings published in Kürdistan journal.

The third period is the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. Sheik Said Revolt started soon after the republic was established but unfortunately we have no knowledge about whether Zapsu had any mission during this revolt or not. We know that he was working as a merchandise manager in Midyat soon after the revolt and that can show us that he didn't have a big responsibility in the revolt. After the Sheik Said Revolt, the Kurdish movement reached an important breaking point and became quiet. During this period, although Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu continued his relationship with the Kurdish environment, [173] He became more known for his Islamic identity rather then his Kurdish identity in the public sphere. He became the General Secretary for *Büyük Doğu Cemiyeti (Society for Great East)* established under the leadership of Necip fazıl Kısakürek in 1949.[174] He has writings published in the journal of this organisation called *Büyük Doğu Journal*. Zapsu was a productive writer and he produced work about Islamic subjects and the history of Islam during this period.

2. Süleymaniyeli Tevfik(Pîremêrd) (1867-1950)

Süleymaniyeli Tevfik was born in1867 in Süleymaniye. After his madrasa education he started his career as a population clerk in 1882. [175] He came to İstanbul in 1899 and became a

[171] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 15.
[172] Ekrem Cemilpaşa, *Muhtasar Hayatım, Kemalizme Karşı Kürt Aydınının Mücadelesinden Bir Yaprak*, 45.
[173] Musa Anter, *Hatıralarım*, 2.Baskı ed (İstanbul: Aram Yayınları, 2011), 72.
[174] Suat Ak, «Büyük Doğu Cemiyeti», *Hece Dergsi*, sayı 97 (2003): 491–507.
[175] Dr. Ferhad Pîrbal, *Mêjûy Şano Le Edebiyatê Kurdî de Le Konewe ta 1957*, 104.

councillor of the Şehremaneti before becoming the governor of Colemêrg (Hakkâri)[176] and Adapazarı.[177] Like many Kurdish intellectuals we come across Süleymaniyeli Tevfik during the Constitutional Era. He was one of the writers as well as being the owner and the concession manager of *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper.* Alongside his articles written in Ottoman Turkish, poems written in the Sorani dialect of Kurdish were published in the newspaper. The idea of Ottomanism as a collective identity was defended in the writings of Süleymaniyeli Tevfik during this perod.[178] *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals were published by KTHC, which was established during his service as a councillor of Hakkâri around 1912. We learn from him that he also contributed to these journals. [179]

In his articles written in the journal *Jîn* about Kurdish history, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik tried to prove the fact that Kurds were from the Aryan race through referencing many different resources. He wrote that the idea Haci Qadirê Koyî had about the Kurds populating the area around mount Cudi since Prophet Noah's boat arrived there hence becoming inhabitants of this area made sense to him. Therefore Kurds were an ancient population.[180] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik was a member of right of *KTC* and took part in the Kurdish political movement. [181] He left İstanbul in 1925 after the establishment of the republic in order to go to Süleymaniye.[182] Next to his name Süleymaniyeli Tevfik he used the pen name Pirekurd in *Jîn* journal.

After arriving in Süleymaniye in 1925, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik published a newspaper called *Jîyan* between 1926 and 1934. He then published 1015 issues of the Jîn newspaper as a follow up of the former newspaper until 1950. He wrote many important articles about Kurdish literature, history and language. Researching and celebrating Kurdish national days and

[176] BOA. BEO. 306307-4085. 06/L/1330
[177] BOA. İ.. DUİT. 151-48. 03/N/1338
[178] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi*, 39.
[179] Umêd Aşna, *Pîremêrd û Pêdaçûneyek Nêwî Jiyan û Berhemekan* (Hewlêr: Belawkirewey Aras, 2009), 19.
[180] Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 384.
[181] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 15.
[182] Malmisanij, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi* (Stockholm: Apec, 1998), 55.

holidays were one of the significant subjects of *Jîn* Journal. After leaving İstanbul and coming to Süleymaniye, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik made a lot of effort towards celebrating Newroz as a Kurdish national holiday.[183] He was a very productive writer, poet and a translator working in areas of literature, poetry, theatre and history until his death in 1950 in Süleymaniye.

3. Kerküklü Necmeddîn Hüseyin (1886-?)

Kerküklü Necmeddin was born in 1886 in Kirkuk and he was one of the founders of *KTHC*. He had many articles published in *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals, which were the press of the organisation above. He was well known for his political work during the armistice period.[184] Necmeddin Hüseyin doesn't seem to be a member of *KTC*,[185] but he was a founding member of the *Kürt Millet Fırkası (Kurdish National party)* and an active participant of *TIC*.[186] There is only one article published under the name of Necmeddin Hüseyin in *Jîn* Journal's twenty third issue. According to Refik Hilmi's writings, some Kurdish patriots including Necmeddin Hüseyin had to flee to Bulgaria on the 22nd of September, 1922 because of the pressure of the Turkish Republic. [187]

4. Diyarbekirli Fikrî Necdet

We usually find the writings of Diyarbekirli Fikrî Necdet in *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals, which were the publications of *KTHC*. We also come across a poem written by him in the eighteenth issue of the journal *Jîn*. We don't see the name Fikri Necdet in the list of members of *KTC* that was formed during the armistice period in İstanbul.[188] But when Ekrem Cemilpaşa writes about the *Kürdistan Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society)* that was formed around the same time in Diyarbakır, he mentions the agricultural school graduate Cerciszade Necdet as

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[183] Ibid.
[184] Jîn, Yevmi Gazetelerden, Jîn, issue, 23, p, 1. M. Emîn Bozarslan, çev., *Jîn : kovara Kurdî-Tirkî. Cild 5* (Uppsala: Weşanxana Deng (Deng yayınevi), 1988), 985.
[185] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14–16.
[186] Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası)*, 1969, 60.
[187] Ebdulla Zengene, ed, *Rôjî Kued (1913 Estembol) Kovarî Civatî Hêvîy Qutabiyanî Kurd* (Süleymaniye: Binkey Jîn, 2005), 96.
[188] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14–16.

one of the founders of the society.[189] It is very possible that Diyarbekirli Fikri Necdet who writes in *Rojî Kurd* about agriculture and farming is the same person with whom Ekrem Cemilpaşa mentions as Cerciszade Necdet who was one of the founders of *KC*.

5. Mehmed Mihri Hilav (1889-1957)

Mehmed Mihri was born in Jawanroud. After his primary education he carried on to madrasa. One of the madrasas he was educated at was the Horhor Madrasa in Van. Said-i Kürdi educated him in the same period with other students such as Şefik Arvas and Müküslü Hamza. Mehmed Mihri then moved to İstanbul in 1912.[190] He was a member of *KTHC* and he had many articles published in the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals. We don't see that Mehmed Mihri was a member of *KTC* during the armistice period[191] but he was quite a prolific writer at that time. In the journal *Jîn* he used pen names like M. M. Erdelani Dawer and Dawer Erdelani and he also was the owner and the concession manager of the Kürdistan journal during that period. Mehmed Mihri carried on his work about the Kurdish language and his book about Kurdish grammar titled Mukaddimetü'l-İrfan (1919, İstanbul) was published around this time. He became a lawyer after the establishment of the Turkish Republic and he died in İstanbul in 1957. According to Musa Anter, Mehmed Mihri sent articles to the journal Jîn that was being published by Pîremêrd in Southern Kurdistan until his death in 1957.[192] This theory of Mehmed Mihri having a relationship with Kurdish journals and newspapers that were published in Southern Kurdistan can be backed with the fact that the telegraph that was sent from İstanbul announcing his death was published in the *Hetaw* Journal in Hewlêr.[193]

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[189] Malmisanij, *Kürt Talebe-Hēvī Cemiyeti (1912-1922): ilk legal Kürt ögrenci derneği* (İstanbul: Avesta, 2002), 71.
[190] Ferhad Pîrbal, ed, *Govarî Kurdistan 1919-1920 Estembol* (Hewlêr, 1998), 13.
[191] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14–16.
[192] Anter, *Hatıralarım*, 69.
[193] Ferhad Pîrbal, *Govarî Kurdistan 1919-1920 Estembol*, 14.

6. Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ] (1869- 1932)

Abdullah Cevdet was born in Arapgir on the 9th of September 1869. His first education was a religious one taken from his family surroundings. After finishing Elazığ military secondary school on the 8th of June 1885, he moved to İstanbul and enrolled in Kuleli Military Medical High School.[194] After three years of education at this high school, he started the Military Medical School. Abdullah Cevdet's world of ideas went through profound changes when his school friend İbrahim Temo found books about materialism and let him read them. He was a very active member of the organisation he co-formed with his friends İbrahim Temo, İshak Sükûti, Mehmed Reşit and Hikmet Emin called *İttihad-ı Osmanî Cemiyeti (Committee of Ottoman Union)* in 1889. After finishing medical school in 1894, he worked as a doctor and he became imprisoned because of his involvement in the organisation above and then he was exiled to Fezzan. He found a way to escape to Europe, Abdullah Cevdet joined the Young Turks there. He took place at the forefront of opposition during his time in Europe and he published *Osmanlı* newspaper and the journal *İctihâd*.[195] Kürdistan newspaper owner Abdurrahman Bedirxan was in exile in Europe during the same time and both writers were in contact. Abdullah Cevdet wrote in the newspaper *Kürdistan* under the pen name of "Bir Kürd".[196] He returned to İstanbul in 1910 and was a member of *Kürd Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for Spreading Education)*. He also contributed to the *KTHC's* publication of both the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals. Abdullah Cevdet was a positivist thinker with western ideas. He believed that social progress occurs through education and he supported the idea of Kurds accepting the Latin alphabet in order to increase literacy within Kurdish communities.[197] We don't see his name as a member of the political organisation *KTC* during the armistice period and he had one article published in both the *Kürdistan* and *Jîn* Journals.

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[194] M. Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet Ve Dönemi*, İşletme ve iktisat serisi 3 (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 5.
[195] Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet Ve Dönemi*, 34.
[196] Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Doktor Abdullah Cevdet Ve Dönemi*, 218.
[197] *Rojî Kurd*, 100.

Icons of Kurdish nationalism like Kamuran and Celadet Bedirxan siblings were writers in the İctihâd journal he owned. Abdullah Cevdet was an intellectual rather then an activist. He wasn't in contradiction with the western ideals the elite of the republic period adopted after the establishment of the republic and instead, as he was already defending these ideals for many years, this period was the most comfortable for him intellectually. He created around seventy works of writing, poetry and translations until his death in 1932.

7. Süleymaniyeli Mahmud Nejad Tevfik (??)

Süleymaniyeli Tevfik wrote that after he left İstanbul, his two sons called Vedad and Nejad stayed in Turkey.[198] Probably the poem signed as Süleymaniyeli Mahmud Nejad in *Jîn* journals eighth issue and the biography of Mevlana Halit writing signed as M. Nejad Tevfik in the tenth issue of the same journal were both from the Süleymaniyeli Tevfik's son Nejat. Unfortunately we have no information about him apart from his writings. In his article about the biography of Mevlana Halit, he underlined the importance of religion in keeping a society together as well as the importance of writing the biographies of Kurdish scholars.

8. Süleymaniyeli İsmail Vedad [??]

In the eigth issue of the *Jîn* Journal, the article titled Kurdish-Turkish Unity authored by Süleymaniyeli İsmail Vedad and in the ninth issue the article titled Our Kurdish Language authored by İsmail Vedad were probably both written by Süleymaniyeli Tevfik's son Vedad. As we learn from Süleymaniyeli Tevfik's writings, Vedad was a Sanskrit expert[199] and in his writings in Jîn about which language group Kurdish belonged to, he wrote that Kurdish was one of the most ancient languages belonging to the Indo-European language group and he stated that Kurdish was even more ancient then Persian. [200] In his article titled Kurdish-Turkish Unity, he wrote about how the Sultan of Harzemshah called Celaleddin Harzemşah

[198] Malmisanij, *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Gazetesi*, 79.
[199] Umêd Aşna, *Pîremêrd û Pêdaçûneyek Nêwî Jiyan û Berhemekan*, 106.
[200] Süleymaniyeli İsmail Vedad, *Kürdçe Lisanımız, Jîn,* issue, 9, p, 11Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 451.

fled the Mongols and took refuge in Bitlis Kurdish Dynasty and how there was Kurdish-Turkish unity since then.[201]

9. Kemal Fevzi (1891-2/1925)

Another productive writer of Jîn was Kemal Fevzi Rûmi. His date of birth is listed as being 1307, whose equivalent is 1891 or 1892 in the Gregorian calendar. Although we have no record about whether Kemal Fevzi had a madrasa education or not, the fact that he puts the note of Pangaltı Military School under the poems he writes shows us that he was a military school student at that time.[202] He took part in the Balkan Wars where he got shot in the foot and became disabled.[203] It can be said that, this disability proved to be a serious breaking point in his personal life. Together with this, the four years of World War One saw the political shift in Kemal Fevzi's leanings from Turkism to Kurdism. While Turkism was prominent in his writings during the Balkan War and his military school years, his emphasis shifted towards Kurdism during the period of armistice.

Kemal Fevzi had work published in both the *Jîn* and *Kürdistan* journals as well as being a member[204] and clerk[205] of *KTC*, which was a political organisation during the armistice period. He had poems published in *Jîn* under the pen names of Kemal Fevzi and Hizanzade Kemal Fevzi. It is very possible that the article about the need for the re-emergence of *KTHC* in the sixth issue of the journal written under the pen name of Kürtzade Kemal also belonged to Kemal Fevzi. In addition, Malmisanij suggests that the Law Reşid pen named writer who gathered Kurdish proverbs together in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th, and 8th issues of *Jîn* Journal could also be by Kemal Fevzi.[206] We can see his political identity as well as his literary identity in the journal *Jîn*. He was writing political articles addressing the current government while also

[201] Süleymaniyeli İsmail Vedad, *Kürd-Türk Birliği, Jîn*, issue, 8, p, 3. Ibid., 415.
[202] Malmisanij, *Bitlisli Kemal Fevzi ve Kürt Örgütleri İçindeki Yeri* (Stockholm: Apec, 1993), 14.
[203] Ibid., 22.
[204] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 15.
[205] Malmisanij, *Bitlisli Kemal Fevzi ve Kürt Örgütleri İçindeki Yeri*, 57.
[206] Ibid., 44.

writing Kurdish fairy tales. Kemal Fevzi carried on writing for the Jîn Journal after the 25th issue as it became a newspaper and according to Malmisanij he was a member of the organisation called *KTI*, which was formed by the former independence defender members of *KTC*.[207]

On May 27th, 1925 he was hanged by the Eastern Independence Court because he encouraged people to revolt and had been operating for an independent Kurdistan.[208]

10. Qazîzade Mustafa Şevki (1896-1950?)

He was born in 1896 in Savucbulak and he was the youngest son of one of the *Jîn* Journal writers Qazî Letîf. After being home schooled by his father and his father's friends, he moved to Istanbul in 1911 to carry on with his education. After completing his high school education in 1913 he went to Germany to get medical training. It is said that he was a member of *KTHC* that was established in Istanbul in 1912.[209] Mustafa Şevki has an article in both the third and the fourth issue of *Hetawî Kurd* journal. When his family's financial situation got worse in 1915, he had to cut his education in half and return to İstanbul in 1916. After going back to his medical training in 1917, he got married in 1919 to a girl called Nadide from Thessaloniki. After the completion of his medical training in 1922, he started his first job as an intern in the Iranian Hospital.

Mustafa Şevki resided in İstanbul during the armistice period and wrote in both the *Kürdistan* and *Jîn* Journals. In his articles in *Jîn* he compares the situation Kurds were in with European countries and stressed the importance of becoming allies in order to survive.[210] In another article published in the journal, he emphasised the notion of homeland and nation and he

[207] Ibid., 47.
[208] Ibid., 85.
[209] Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası): Kürt milletinin 60 yıllık esaretten kurtuluş savaşı hatıraları*, 2. basım (Ankara: Öz-Ge Yayınları, 1991), 28.
[210] Qazizade M. Şewqî, Weziyetî Ême di Esrî Hazir, Jîn, issue, 4, p, 15. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 281.

wrote that it wasn't only the village or the town that was lived in but the whole of "Kurdistan" that was the homeland. [211]

Mustafa Şevki had poems as well as articles published in the journal *Jîn* under the pen names of Qazîzade Mustafa, Qazîzade M. Şevki and Qazizade Mustafa Şevki.

The only information we have from him after the republic was formed is the letter he sent to his sister in 1930 from Dinar, signed, as government doctor Qazizade Mustafa Şevki[212] If Dinar is the same Dinar from the town of Afyon in Turkey, we can come to the conclusion that Mustafa Şevki was one of the *Jîn* writers whom didn't leave Turkey after the establishment of Turkish republic.

11. Qazî Letif (?-1921)

Although we don't have enough information about his date of birth we know that Qazî Letif is the father of another *Jîn* columnist, Mustafa Şevki. In an autobiography he wrote in the periodical called "The Kurdistan Missionary", Qazizade Mustafa Şevki mentioned his father being the kadı (muslim Judge) of Savucbulak. [213] The army of Simko killed him when Simko occupied Savucbulak in 1921.

He had a poem called Gazel published in *Jîn's* seventh issue in the Kurdish dialect of Sorani.

12. Hemzeyê Miksî (1892-1958)

He was born in Van's Bahçesaray town (Miks) in 1892. He started his education in Miks Mir Hasan Veli Madrasa and carried on in Van Horhor Madrasa before going to İstanbul to finish Persian language and literature at İstanbul University. [214] Horhor Madrasa is said to have been very important in the way it shaped Hemzeyê Miksî's way of thinking as well as being

[211] Qazizade M. Şewqî, Weten, Jîn, issue, 11, p, 14. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 516.
[212] Xelîl Fetahî Qazî, *Kurte Mêjûy Benemalê qazî le Welatê Mukrî*, çev. Hesen Qazî (Hewlêr: Aras Publisher, 2009), 214–217.
[213] Lutheran Orient Mission Society, «The Kurdistan Missionary.», *The Kurdistan Missionary.* 15, sayı 12 (1923): 26.
[214] Veysel Aydeniz, *Eski Said'in Ehemmiyetli Talebesi Hamza* (Istanbul: Kent Işıkları, y.y.), 17.

important in the Kurdish movement of that period. One of the teachers of this madrasa was Said-i Kurdi, he and his students such as Hemzeyê Miksî, Mehmed Mihri Hilav and Arvasizade Şefik[215] played an active role in the Kurdish movement during the armistice and Constitution periods.

Hemzeyê Miksî went to İstanbul for education during the Constitutional Era and he became a member of *KTHC*.[216] His poem that was published in the fourth issue of *Hetawî Kurd* journal was written in the Kurdish dialect of Kurmaji. After finishing his university degree, he worked as a teacher in Üsküdar and then he chose to become an imam during the First World War rather then joining the war as a soldier.[217]

Hemzeyê Miksî was the owner and the concession manager of the journal *Jîn* until the 20th issue. He then passed this duty on to Memduh Selim. The only writing he published in the journal under the name of Hamza was the preface written for Ahmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn. We don't have enough information about how active Müküslü Hamza was politically, apart from knowing that he was a member of right of *KTC*.

Hemzeyê Miksî was caught and tried for the Sheikh Said Revolt and he was sentenced to 10 years in prison.[218] While he was serving his prison sentence in Kastamonu, he was granted an amnesty in 1928 and he left Turkey to live in Syria. Hemzeyê Miksî carried on with his teaching career in Syria and worked in an organisation called Hoybun, which was formed by Kurdish intellectuals in 1927.[219] He died in Syria in 1958.

[215] Veysel Aydeniz, *Seyyid Şefik Arvasi* (İstanbul: Nûbihar, 2013), 19.
[216] Ekrem Cemilpaşa, *Muhtasar Hayatım, Kemalizme Karşı Kürt Aydınının Mücadelesinden Bir Yaprak*, 20.
[217] Veysel Aydeniz, *Eski Said'in Ehemmiyetli Talebesi Hamza*, 17.
[218] Ibid., 82.
[219] Ibid., 96.

13. Şefik Arvasi (Eryuvası)(1884-1970)

He was born in 1884, in Bölüklü Village of Hizan, Bitlis.[220] He started his education with his family and moved on to a Madrasa in Nurşin. He later moved to Van and carried on his education in Horhor Madrasa. In Horhor Madrasa, he studied with Müküslü Hamza and Mehmed Mihri under the guidance of Said-i Kurdi.[221] In the years of 1912-13 Şefik Arvasi went to İstanbul and there he attended Fatih and Süleymaniye madrasas.[222] He was a member of *KTHC*, which was formed around this time in İstanbul.[223] His work was published in the *Hetawî Kurd* journal under the pen name of Mehmed Şefik.

Şefik Arvasi was the editor-in-chief of the *Kürdistan* journal as well as having writings published in both the *Jîn* and *Kürdistan* journals. He wrote his article in the Kurmanji dialect of Kurdish and had published in the second issue of the *Jîn* Journal he used the pen name of Arvasizade Mehmed Şefik while using both Mehmed Şefik and Arvasizade Mehmet Şefik in his writings in *Kürdistan*. Şefik Arvas was an active member of *KTC*[224] and he was more known for his intellectual work rather then his political work.

In 1925 he was arrested in accordance with the Sheikh Said Revolt and he was tried by Easter Independence Court in Elazığ. Unfortunately we have no record about whether Şefik Arvas was sentenced or not. [225] During the period of the republic he worked as a head imam 12 years in Eyüp Mosque and 25 years in Sultanahmet Mosque.[226] We don't come across any political work of Şefik Arvas during the period of the republic but we can see that he carried on with

[220] Veysel Aydeniz, *Seyyid Şefik Arvasi*, 15.
[221] Ibid., 19.
[222] Ibid., 20.
[223] Kadri Cemil Paşa, *Doza Kurdistan = (Kürdistan davası)*, 1991, 28.
[224] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 15.
[225] Veysel Aydeniz, *Seyyid Şefik Arvasi*, 63.
[226] Ibid., 79.

his religious and educational work. Şefik Arvas kept in touch with Abdurrahim Zapsu, Mehmed Mihri Hilav and Said-i Nursi[227] and he died in 1970 in İstanbul.

14. Ebulqasım Lahûtî (1887-1957)

Lahûti was born in 31st of December 1887 in Kirmanşah and his real name was Ebulkqasim Ahmetzade. After studying in Kirmanşah Madrasa, Lahûti moved to Tehran to advance his education. After adopting socialist ideas and joining political movements, he ran away from the Iranian regime and went to İstanbul in 1912.[228] Unfortunately we have no record about whether he took part in the Kurdish movement that was taking place in İstanbul at that time or not. In 1916 Lahûti published a newspaper called Bistun in Kirmanşah but when England occupied Kirmanşah as a result of the October Uprising, he moved back to İstanbul.[229]

Lahûti was possibly in İstanbul during the armistice period and he had two poems published in Jîn, one in the 23rd and one in the 25th issues. The poems were written in the Sorani dialect of Kurdish. In one of those poems he writes about how Kurds belong to the Iranian race and how ancient of a civilization they are. He signed his poems with both names Lahûtî and Lahûtî Han in the journal *Jîn*.Lahûtî went back to Kirmanşah in 1920 and after an uprising under his name in Tabriz failed, he ran away to Moscow. He became a member of the Communist party and settled in Tajikistan. He worked as a Deputy Minister of Education in Tajikistan as well as being the Chair of Tajik Writers and Poets Society. He served Tajik literature with his translations from many different languages including Russian. He died in 1957, Moscow[230]

[227] Anter, *Hatıralarım*, 72.
[228] Celîlê Celîl, *Kürt Halk Tarihinden 13 İlginç Yaprak* (İstanbul: Evrensel Basım Yayın, 2007), 160.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid., 161.

15. Memduh Selim(1897-1976)

Memduh Selim was born in 1897* in Van. He started his education in Van and carried on in Trabzon.[231] Memduh Selim had political and philosophical training in İstanbul [232] and he was the Secretary-General of *KTHC*.[233] We can come across his work in *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals.

We don't see Memduh Selim's name as a member of *KTC*[234] but we can see that he was the Secretary-General of *KDF* that started around the same period. [235] He also was a member of *KTIC* after it was formed by the independence supporting former members of *KTC*.[236] He was the editor-in-chief of *Jîn* after the 20th issue. He had more works published in the journal after becoming the editor-in-chief and he was one of the writers who stood out more with his political work. Memduh Selim can be seen as a nation builder especially with his efforts about determining Kurdish national holidays. In addition, his writings in *Jîn* about Kurdish women and porters in Istanbul were very remarkable.

Memduh Selim moved to Antakya and carried on his career as a teacher after the proclamation of the republic as well as being a member of the central committee of Hoybun Organization, which was formed around this period. He also was one of the organisers of the Ağrı Uprising with the other members of the Hoybun Organisation. Memduh Selim died in 1976, Syria.

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*The date of 1897 is probably not right. It is known that he was the Secretary-General of Hêvî in 1912. If Memduh Selim was born in 1897 he would then be 15 years old when he was the Secretary-General of the organisation which sounds highly unlikely.

[231] Ahmet Özcan, *İmparatorluk Çökerken Yeni Bir Ulus Tahayyülü*, 40.

[232] Rohat Alakom, *Xoybun Örgütü ve ağrı Ayaklanması* (İstanbul: Avesta, 1998), 43.

[233] Malmisanij, *Kürt Talebe-Hēvī Cemiyeti (1912-1922)*, 71.

[234] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 15.

[235] Malmisanij, *Bitlisli Kemal Fevzi ve Kürt Örgütleri İçindeki Yeri*, 48.

[236] Ibid., 50.

16. Kamran Ali Bedirxan (1895-1978)

Kamuran Ali Bedirxan was the youngest son of Emin Ali Bedirxan from the Bedirxani family. He was a law graduate from İstanbul University.[237] Although we don't come across his name during the Constitutional Era, as he was very young then, he became a prominent Kurdish figure during the armistice period. Kamuran Ali Bedirxan's name couldn't be seen in the list of members of *KTC* during the armistice period but he most probably became a member of *KTIC* which was an organisation formed after the dissipation of KTC with the presidency of Kamuran Ali Bedirxan's father Emin Ali Bedirxan. During this period he was known more for his writings then his political activism and apart from the journal Jîn he had work published in Abdullah Cevdet's *İçtihad* journal and Mevlanzade Rıfat's *Serbesti* newspaper. The main theme of his writings around this period concerned the future of Kurdistan. As we know, during the armistice period, Armenians and Kurds were having conflict over their rights on the Six Provinces. In his writings in *Jîn* and *İçtihad* journals as well as *Serbesti* newspaper, Kamuran Ali Bedirxan was stressing the fact that Six Provinces was a part of "Kurdistan" and the right to sovereignty should belong to Kurds as well.

After leaving Turkey with the proclamation of the republic, Kamuran Ali Bedirxan took an active role in Hoybun Organization in 1927.[238] Afterwards he joined his brother Celadet Bedirxan in the journal he published called Hawar before publishing a journal called *Roja Nû* himself in Beirut between the years of 1943 and 1946. Kamuran Ali Bedirxan moved to Paris in 1948 and became a lecturer at the Eastern languages Institute (INELCO). He died in 1978, Paris. [239]

[237] Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği*, 2009, 130.
[238] Rohat Alakom, *Xoybun Örgütü ve ağrı Ayaklanması*, 70.
[239] Özoğlu, *Osmanlı Devleti ve Kürt milliyetçiliği*, 2009, 130.

17. Emin Feyzi (1861-1929)

In his memoires called Eser-i Hayat-ı Feyzi, he states his date of birth as 1278 (probably Islamic calendar) and birthplace as Süleymaniye. [240] After completing his primary education, Emin Feyzi was enrolled in Süleymaniye Junior High School and then a military high school in Baghdad. Upon completion of his high school, he moved to Istanbul to study at the Harbiye School of Artillery. He graduated from the Artillery school as a first lieutenant in 1299 and worked as a soldier until his retirement in 1913.[241] Although we don't come across Emin Feyzi in Kurdish organisations and press during the Constitutional Era because of his duty in the army, he appears to be very active during the armistice period. He was a founding member of *KTC* and he wrote in both the *Jîn* and *Kürdistan* journals. İn the journal *Jîn* he has writings about the talents of Baban Kurds in the areas of military, education and industry.

Emin Feyzi stayed in İstanbul after the announcement of the republic and died in Darülaceze in 1929. [242]

18. Law Reşîd

Unfortunately we have no information about the person who wrote in *Jîn* Journal's 3rd, 4th, 5th and 7th issues about Kurdish proverbs and their meanings. According to Malmisanij who wrote a book about Kemal Fevzi, this person might actually be Kemal Fevzi as his father's name is Reşid. [243]

19. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî

Another important contributor to the journal *Jîn* is Yüzbaşı Emin Efendi who uses the pen name Kurdiyê Bitlîsî. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan who converted 25 issues of the *Jîn* Journal to the Latin alphabets suggests that this person might be Halil Hayali but we come to the conclusion from an announcement made in the 16th issue of the *Kürdistan* journal that

[240] Emin Feyzi, *Eser-i Hayat-ı Feyzi* (İstanbul, 1340), 1.
[241] Ibid., 69.
[242] *Kültür Dünyamızdan Manzaralar*, Dursun Gürlek (İstanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyat, 2008), 30.
[243] Malmisanij, *Bitlisli Kemal Fevzi ve Kürt Örgütleri İçindeki Yeri*, 45.

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî is actually Yüzbaşı Emin Efendi. Writers of the journal *Jîn* were usually listed as *KTC* members of right. This gives us the clue that Yüzbaşı Emin Efendi who is listed as the first member of right of *KTC* can be the same person who uses the pen name of Kurdiyê Bitlîsî.

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî has writings published in 12 out of 25 *Jîn* Journal issues. The main subject he wrote about in this journal was the roots of Kurds. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî often defended the idea that Kurds were from Iranian origin and they were an ancient civilization of "Kurdistan". Surely the effort to create a common language exists within the agenda of many nationalistic movements. The writer who deals with this subject the most in the journal *Jîn* was Kurdiyê Bitlîsî. According to him, the Kurdish language having different dialects was good on one hand as it was a blessing towards creating a rich vocabulary but at the same time it was bad because it was creating a difficulty between Kurds in understanding each other.

20. Yamulkizade Abdülaziz (1890-1981)

Abdülaziz Yamulki was born in Süleymaniye in 1890 as the son of Yamulkizade Mustafa Paşa or with the name he was more known by in Turkey, Nemrut Kürt Mustafa Paşa. He came to İstanbul to study at the Military Academy and upon completion he joined the Ottoman army. Abdülaziz Yamulki was one of the founding members of the armistice period Kurdish organisation *KTC*.[244] He was one of the prominent writers of *Jîn*, using pen names like Yamulkizade, Yamulkizade A. A., Yamulkizade Aziz and Yamulkizade Abdülaziz.

His work called Baban Dynasty was part of the Kurdish History series that were published in five issues can be seen as an attempt to write about a Kurdish history. Apart from the history of Baban Dynasty, he wrote about *Kürt Kadınları Teâli Cemiyeti (the Society for the Rise of Kurdish Woman*) and he was one of the very few writers who dealt with the subject of woman. Before the pronunciation of the Turkish Republic, he left İstanbul with his father and

[244] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14.

moved to Süleymaniye to serve in the Iraqi army. His interest and his work about Kurdish history continued in this period and his book called Kurdistan and Kurdish Revolutions was published in 1947, in Baghdad. [245]

21. Mehmed Sakin

We don't have enough information about the writer called Mehmed Sakin, who was the writer of the article called the History of Kurdistan that was published between the 10th and the 12th issues of the journal. The article tried to summarise the history of "Kurds and Kurdistan" referencing Encyclopaedia Britannica. Starting from the Gutians, he wrote about the way Kurds accepted Islam and about their faith with the Ottomans after associating with Sultan Selim.

22. Yusuf Ziya (1882-1925)

In 1882 Yusuf Ziya was born in Bitlis as the son of Hacı Ömer Suat Ağa. After finishing Bitlis High School, he became a civil servant. After his short career as a civil servant he left his job and went in to business.[246] Yusuf Ziya was a member of right of *KTC* during the armistice period[247] and he was known for his political work. In one of his letters that was published in the journal Jîn he was stressing the importance of Bitlis in Kurdish history and he criticised the Unionist about the 1914 Molla Selim Revolt in Bitlis. He served as a congressman in the first parliament and he was found guilty of being one of the organisers of the Sheikh Said Revolt in Turkish courts-martial of Bitlis and he was hanged as a result of this verdict.

[245] Vladimir Mıorsky ve Thomas Bois, *Kürt Milliyetçiliği* (Istanbul: Örgün Yayınevi, 2008), 121.
[246] Fahri Çoker, *Türk Parlamento Tarihi: Milli Mücadele ve T. B. M.M. I. Dönem 1919/1923* (Ankara: T.B. M. M. Vakfı Yayınları, 1995), 180.
[247] Ibid.; Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14.

23. Kürdizade E. Sabit

Unfortunately we have no record about who Kürdizade E. Sabit is. In the 12th issue of Jîn Journal he published two poems by Ahmed Xanî and Siyahpoş and in the 13th issue he published his own poem. Although he has the same name as one of the founding members of KTC called Kemahlı Sabit[248] Sağıroğlu[249] who was also the former governor of Harput, we can't be sure about his identity.

24. Siverekli Hilmi

Unfortunately we have no information about the writer who has writings in six issues of the journal *Jîn* under the pen name of Siverekli Hilmi. This writer took over the mission of putting together Kurdish proverbs from Law Reşid in the last few issues of the journal. Apart from gathering proverbs he also has poems published in the 22nd and the 25th issues.

25. Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi (1863-1933)

Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi was born in 1863 in Erbil and he was the son of ulama Haydarizade Asım Efendi. After completing his education in Erbil Madrasa, he became a kadı (Islamic Judge) in Zaho by passing Ministry of Justice's exam in 1887.[250] Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi served as a shaykh al-islam four different times during the armistice period. After the abolition of the caliphate he moved to Baghdad and died here in 1933.[251] He was one of the founding members of *KTC* and in the first issue of *Jîn*; he had an article about the role Kurds played in Islam, highlighting their services. Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi also had writings and translations in *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper* that was published during the Constitution Era. We can say that he was in contact with Kurdish organisations from the Proclamation of the Constitution to the armistice period.

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[248] Oğuz Aytepe, «Tarih ve Toplum», 14.
[249] Sema Yıldırım ve Behçet Kemal Zeynel, ed, *T. B. M. M. Albümü 1920-2010* (Ankara: T.B. M. M. Basın ve Halkla İlişkiler Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 2010), 94.
[250] Dr. Abdülkadir Altunsu, *Osmanlı Şeyhülislamları* (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası, 1972), 252.
[251] Ibid., 253.

26. Doktor Fuad

We don't have any information about Doktor Fuad's birth or education but we know that he was from Diyarbakır. [252] In his letter that was published in the journal *Jîn*, he wrote about the way in which Kurdish youth had been working with nationalistic aims since the formation of *KTHC* in 1912 and how the people who were criticising them in those years started to agree with them when the armistice period started. We can see that Doktor Fuad was a member of *KTHC* both from the article he wrote in Jîn and from the information Malmisanij provides about him.[253] Doktor Fuad also had a writing published in another newspaper during the armistice period called *Kürdistan*. In 1925 he was hanged in Diyarbakır, as he was found guilty of joining the Sheikh Said Revolt. [254]

Apart from the writers above whom we tried to write short biographies of, there were other writers such as Zaxoyî, Şilanlızade Yusuf Sabri, Şilanlızade Eyüp Sabri, Mirzayê Cizîr, İsfahani, İhsan Nuri, Encüm Yamulki , Diyarbekirli Tevfik Hamdi, Aburrahim Salim Babanzade Dersimli Hüsnü, Ahmed Vehbi, Kazım Vehbi, Kalender, Midyalı Tanin Monlazade Bir Muallime, Meşwi Süleyman, Süleyman Nazif, Süleyman Bohtî and Qazizade Mistefa Termo who contributed to the journal *Jîn* by sending one article or poem each.

In addition to that, Mela Ahmedê Cizîrî, Ahmedê Xanî, Nalî, Hacî Qadirê Koyî, Şêx Rıza Talabani and Siyahpoş were among the writers who weren't alive during the publication of Jîn. Poems by these poets were also published in *Jîn* as a reference to the richness and oldness of Kurdish literature.

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[252] Vet. Dr. M. Nuri Dersimi, *Kürdistan Tarihinde Dersim*, 184.
[253] Malmisanij, *Kürt Talebe-Hēvī Cemiyeti (1912-1922)*, 72.
[254] Vet. Dr. M. Nuri Dersimi, *Kürdistan Tarihinde Dersim*, 184.

Chapter V: Content/Discourse Analysis

Language&Literature and Territory serving the construction of national identity

1. Language&Literature

Kurdish elites who wrote for the Journal *Jîn* were inspired by Wilson's fourteen points especially the twelfth point, which advocated self determination for Ottoman subjects. This point gave a new idea of legitimacy to the nationalist movements of its time. The demand of self-determination regarding these principles can be traced via many articles written in *Jîn*. Kamiran Alî Bedirxan wrote;

> In Wilson's fourteen points, it is declared that the principle that every nation will govern itself is accepted by the world. It is also mentioned that the humanity will not be used as a tool for political targets. This is the offer that suits the missionary of humanity and virtue. [255]

It seems that Kurdish elites attempted to participate in the progress that their destiny would be determined. During this attempt they had to prove that they matched the requirements of the age and their nationality really did exist as well as also being a "modern" one. Furthermore they had to make Kurds aware of their identity. Therefore the elites attempted to reconstruct Kurdish society, they were aware that political struggles were legitimized through the discourse of the day, which were on the ground of nationalism and modernity. In many articles Kurdish elites attempted to encourage Kurds to take pride in their history, language and literature and also writers like Siverekli Hilmi who addresses Kurdish youth invited Kurds to have the claim on their faith;

> The time of following others is past .... Work only for your own people. Do not forget that we have a language of our own, however neglected, and a rich history. Here you have a formula for independence: action and initiative. [256]

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[255] Kamran Alî Bedirxan, "Kurdistan İçin", *Jîn*, issue 3, p, 5. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.245 ["Wilson'ın ondört şartında, her milletin kendisi tarafından idare edilmesi esasının artık dünyada kesb-i istikrar edileceği ilan olunuyor. Beşeriyetin siyasi makasıda artık baziçe olmayacağı beyan ediliyor. Işte, insaniyet ve fazilet mübeşşirliğine yakışan samimi teklif!"]

[256] Siverekli Hilmi, "Kurd gençlerine", *Jîn*, issue 8, p, 7. M.Emîn Bozarslan, *Jîn*, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.401 ["Başkalarının metaına rağbet zamanı geçti. Bazılarınızın fikirlerini işgal eden hayalât-ı vâhiyeden teberrî

The elites who had a claim to be the representatives of the Kurdish nation wanted to prove the existence of the nation. Furthermore language seems to play a part in their attempt to do this.

In 1919, the masterpiece of Ehmedê Xanî, Kurdish a poet who lived in the 17th century, Mem û Zîn was published in Istanbul. In the 16th issue of *Jîn*, this publication was presented as a big success in contributing to the Kurdish language and literature. In his article, Memduh Selîm Beg, argues that, this book proves the existence of an excellent Kurdish language, and he goes on by saying that this is not only a claim done by Kurds, also Europeans who have a knowledge of the East approve that. Mem û Zîn was published with prologue of Mükslü Hamza. In his prologue, Hamza says;

> Literature and literary work is a strong ground, for every nation and every people to base itself on. If a nation has literature no matter how badly it injures itself, it can be reborn again.[257]

Hamza says that for every nation that wants to exist and claim its independence, the first thing to do is to place big importance on their literature, adding that Ehmedê Xanî was aware of this and he put the Kurdish language into order. He also says that especially in this age, in this civilized world, a nations' proof to exist is their literature and language. Others would never listen to the case of nations being created without proof.[258]

Language has been seen by nation-builders as a one true marker of an ethnic identity, since it is often the simplest way of finding common intrinsic features in a community. This essentiality has been attractive for different nationalistic elites and nation-builders. Reading the pieces published in *Jîn* this essentiality seems also to be prevailing for the *Jîn* cadre. They made their graph, which they believed would lead to a new identity based on a shared culture and language. Therefore they started emphasizing the importance of the language for a

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ediniz. Yalnız kendi milletiniz için çalışınız. Unutmayınız ki bizim de bugüne kadar ihmal edilmiş vasi bir lisanımız zengin bir tarihimiz vardır. İşte size bir düstur-ı felah: Faaliyet ve teşebbüs"]

[257] Bozarslan's introduction to *Jîn*, in M.Emîn Bozarslan, *Jîn,* Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.64

[258] Hemze, Dibace-Mem û Zîn, Jîn, issue, 19, p, 12.M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1986, p. 824.

Kurdish nation to exist. It was also important for the elites to improve the Kurdish language to be capable of the corresponding needs of the modern age.

Therefore the improvement of the Kurdish language was on the agenda of the elites of that time. The chart of *Kürd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî /KTMC (Society for Kurdish Educational Circular)* which was a cultural society known as a sub-society of Kurdistan Teal-î Cemiyeti, reflects this concern:

> They say that; for a nation to have its rights, the insurance is to have a history and a language which is convenient to the requirements of the age, that is to say to have the national institutions.[259]

On the chart, it was mentioned that the society's mission was compensation of the lost; they aimed to observe the need of Kurds for language, history and contemporary science and supply this need. The society also had a mission to make Kurds aware of their glorious past and language;

The Kurdish language's wideness and the perfection of Kurdish Grammar will lead us to develop the language into an extremely developed one.

On the declared chart the following points were devoted to language;

> 2. All the works in the Kurdish language written by Kurdish writers from Divans to poetry will be printed.
> 3. A Kurdish dictionary containing all the dialects will be compiled and published.
> 4. Among the existing grammar books the appropriate ones will be printed.
> 5. To provide education in Kurdish, books will be published
> 7. Kurdish legends, stories and folk songs will be collected from different regions.[260]

It is understood that these intellectuals pointed to Kurdish language as proof for the existence of their nation, so they believed the language should be promoted.

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[259]"Kurd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî Beyannamesi", *Jîn*, issue 10, p, 10. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.467 ["Diyorlar ki milletlerin berat-ı hak ve istihkakı, cereyan-ı asra hempa bir lisnan ve tarihe, bugünkü mânasiyla milli müesseselere malikiyettir."]

[260] "Kurd Tamim-î Maarîf Camiyetî Beyannamesi", *Jîn*, issue 10, p, 14. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.470. ["2- Bilumum Kürd üdeba, şuara, ulemasının Kürd lisanıyle meydana getirdikleri müellefât, divan ve eş'arı doğru ve nefîs bir surette tab ettirecek. 3- Bütün Kürd lehçelerini ihtiva etmek üzre bir Kürdçe lügat kitabı tertibve neşredecek. 4- Mevcuda göre sarf ve nahv kitablanndan münasıblermı tabettırecek. 5- Kürd lisanıyle tedrisât-ı ibtidaiyeyi temin için lâzım gelen kıtabları neşredecek. 7- Her mahaldeki Kürd âdât ve ananâtına dair malumat cem edecek ve Kürd masal, hikâye ve avam şarkıları toplanacaktır."]

In the 14th issue of *Jîn*, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî stresses the need for a common language to understand each other. He also says that the written language should catch the need of scientific progress.[261] He mentions some people saying that the existence of different dialects is a barrier for Kurdish language to have a united form. He claims that the diversity of the dialects is not an obstacle; on the contrary it is a gift since it supplies various vocabulary to the language.

On the 15th issue of *Jîn* Kurdiyê Bitlîsî calls for a more organized work to improve the Kurdish language; he suggests that a "Language Committee" be established[262] which would work under KTMC and should aim to undertake the mission reforming and developing the language. He insists that the members of the committee should be well educated and know different dialects of Kurdish, adding that there should be some members who can speak foreign languages preferably a European language. Bitlîsî states that the first and the most important mission of the committee is to collect and record the words of the language. He goes on by saying that the work must be based on a dictionary of whichever language and the equivalents of the words in each dialects should be written down. He also recommends that all the proverbs, stories and poems, that is to say elements of oral traditions should be recorded. Bitlîsî calls for improving a standard written language and says;

> To regulate the grammar of the language it is very natural to base it on the biggest language family and it is also the easiest way. In our time, this right belongs to North Kurdish, therefore I suggest the dialect of Hakkarî and Botan to be preffered.[263]

He legitimizes his suggestion by saying that preferring a dialect is for the sake of nation.

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[261] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, "Kürdçeye Dair I", *Jîn*, issue 14, p, 10. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1986, M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1985, p.606

[262] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî "Kürdçeye Dair", *Jîn*, issue 15, p, 14. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1986, pp.664. ["Başlıca lisan meselesiyle –muayyen bir plan dahilinde – uğraşacak bir heyet-i daimeye ihtiyaç vardır."]

[263] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî "Kürdçeye Dair", *Jîn*, issue 15, p, 17. M.Emîn Bozarslan, Upsala: Weşanên Deng, 1986, pp.668. ["Lisanın sarf-ü nahvini tanzimde en büyük aile-i lisaniyenin esas ittihaz edilmesi, en kestirme ve tabiî yoldur. Zamanımızda bu hak, Şimal Kürdçesinindir. Binaberîn, bu maksadla Hakkari ve Botan lehçesinin tercihini tavsiye edebilirim.]

From many articles written in *Jîn*, the conclusion that can be drawn is that language was a discursive component of the national identity built or had been attempted to be built by Kurdish intellectuals. Many of the elites of that time were aware of the role of the language in the perception of the nation. That's why they embarked upon the construction of a language using all the process needed for a language to be the medium of the communication in public sphere.

In his edition of *Jîn*, M. Emin Bozarslan, drawing attention to intentions of improving the language, says that the intellectuals could not manage to put their program into practice. From all the calls for improving, standardizing, reforming and modernizing the language, nothing much could be done except a grammar book titled Muqeddîmet'ul-îrfan.[264]

Nation-builders had insisted that the ethnic past must not be lost since within it could be found both the link to greatness as well as the substance of greatness itself. It was on both of these accounts that 'the mother tongue became almost sacred, the mysterious vehicle of all the national endeavours.[265]

The intellectuals who wrote for *Jîn* while trying to make the Kurdish language operate as a major symbol of attachment to national identity, they were strengthening the claim that the Kurdish language was an ancient one;

My father is trying to prove that Kurds existed before the history. However I will prove that Kurdish language existed before the history via the best pieces of Europe.[266]

The historicity of the language, which gives the speech community a possibility to refer to the 'respectable' ancestry in times long past, is an extremely important part in the attitudes

[264] Bozarslan 1985, p.72

[265] Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Nationalism, Two Integrative Essays*, USA: Newbury House Publishing, 1975, p.44,45

[266] İsmail Vedad, *Kürdçe Lisanımız, Jîn*, issue 9 p, 10. M. Emîn Bozarslan. 1985. P.434. [Babam, Kürdlerin kablettarih mevcud olduklarını isbata çalışıyor. Ben ise, kablettarih Kürd lisanı mevcud olduğunu Avrupa'nın en yeni ve en muteber eserleriyle isbat edeceğim.]

towards language.[267]In this sense language makes a direct tie between the past and the present of a nation and unites the members of the nations in thought and sensation. That is why the ancientness of the Kurdish language was strongly emphasised;

> It means that Kurdish is the twin brother/sister of old languages like Indian and Persian. My target is to highlight this point.[268]
> (…) However Kurdish is older than the Persian language and is the uncle of Pahlavi Language[269] and I will prove that by analizing the infinitive mood of Zend and Pahlavi languages. [270]

If there is something that needs no questioning about its legitimacy to an ethnic group, then it is the language; a symbol of the unique status of the nation itself. Language was also to be a link to the modern community of nation-states. As can be seen via mentioned quotes above overlapping concerns can be found in the pages of the journal *Jîn*. Language was considered the strongest marker for differentiating the Kurdish population from neighbouring peoples and it also served in creating others through the language. That's why those elites signaled the Kurdish language as a different and even more ancient language from its neighbours'

Brian Weinstein, underlines that linguistic symbols become a powerful weapon for political elites if they are legitimized or accepted by significant numbers of people. They are a source of power to demand economic and power benefits for the new ethnicity or nationality in whose name they claim to speak.[271]

The intellectuals contributed to *Jîn*, called to the nation to awaken from their sleep of

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[267] Kristi Haav, *What are the repercussions of using language as a political tool by national elites*?, Budapeşt: Central European University, 2006, p.10

[268] İsmail Vedad, Kürdçe Lisanımız, Jîn, issue 9, p. 11. M. Emîn Bozarslan 1985. p. 434-435[(..)Demek oluyor ki Kürdçe, Hintçe ve Farsça gibi en eski dillerin ikiz kardeşidir. Benim de amacım, bu noktayı açığa çıkarmaktır.]

[269] Iranian language used from the 3rd to 10th centuries (Indo-European language); alphabet used to write Pahlavi

[270] İsmail Vedad, Kürdçe Lisanımız, Jîn, issue 9, p. 11. M. Emîn Bozarslan, 1985. p.451 [(…)Oysa Kürdçe, Farsçadan pek eskidir ve Pehlevîcenin amcasıdır. Bunu da, en eski Zend ve Pehlevî dillerının Kürdçe ile masdarlarını tahlil ederek kanıtlayacağım.]

[271] Brian Weinstein "Language Strategists: Redefining Political Frontiers on the Basis of Linguistic Choices, in World Politics", in *World Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 3; published by Cambridge University Press, 1979, pp. 345-364, Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2009993 (Accessed: 09/10/2011 04:01), p.346.

ignorance. Aside from trying to instil notions of the necessity and value of education in their readers, these intellectuals set the basis to construct a Kurdish national identity. In order to unite Kurds in the name of a common identity, they knew that they had to postulate the Kurds as a separate distinct group with a highly promoted language.

2. Nationalization of the Territory

They say that the enemies will take the homeland
Is it possible as long as I live![272]

It is claimed by many scholars that the territory means more than a mere piece of land for nation-builders. Actually, it is a 'homeland', the home the people supposedly concede as theirs and to which they allegedly are deeply and sensitively tied. The territory becomes natural, given, intrinsically and spiritually connected to the people. This territory, however, is not only perceived as "time immemorial"[273] it is also perceived as the guarantor of the nation's history and future.

Nationalisation of certain geography is one of the main components of the nation construction process. [274] Describing a land that is lived on as a homeland makes it a national space rather then just a physical space. This discourse can be said to provide an opportunity to work towards gaining a political control over a national space. Homeland is imagined as a home where all the members of the family from the same background can share and be apart of the family. [275] In the 11th issue of the journal Qazizade Mustafa Sewqî explains how every nation needs a land to live on and how this land would be called a homeland that would belong to all

[272] A. Rahmi, *Eşqa Welat Jîn*, issue 3, p. 16. M. Emîn Bozarslan 1985, p. 255 [Dibêjin welat bo dijmin e. Ez sax bibim qet mimkin e!]
[273] Jan Penrose "Nations, states and homelands: territory and territoriality in nationalist thought", *Nations and Nationalism* 2002. 8 (3): 277-297, p.281
[274] Özkırımlı, *Contemporary debates on nationalism*, 180.
[275] Alexander J. Motyl, ed, *Encyclopedia of nationalism* (San Diego, Calif. ; London: Academic Press, 2001), 217.

the members of the nation. [276] He also refers to Prophet Muhammad's "Love of one's homeland is from faith" saying in order to stress the importance of it. [277] In the same article, the writer explains why "homeland" is important as well as how and why it should be protected:

That land is collective lands of those tribes. Therefore, If I see myself as a Kurd then my land/domain (erz) and my homeland (watan) is Kurdistan. If I see myself as a member of a tribe then my domain is Sablax (Mahabad) and if I see myself as an individual then my domain is a house in Sablax. Therefore the meaning of watan is not vague and the love of homeland as the prophet has said is the necessity of one's faith.[278]

Geographical considerations lie at the heart of how nations and nationalisms operate. A significant claim that nationalists makes on behalf of the nation is that the latter should be 'masters' of their own homelands.[279] The call for throwing away the enemies out of the 'lands of Kurds' ancestor' would be best understood from this point of view. That is to say, the nation should exercise political power over a named territory.

Kurdish intellectuals attempted to build the national sovereignty over the given territory and to do that they would base their claims on expressed symbolic belonging. To achieve this they should prove the relationship with a given territory since the territory cannot be conceived without reference to its relationship with the nation. Therefore there were many pieces in *Jîn* devoted to drawing the boundaries of Kurdistan.

They say that the enemies will take the homeland

[276] Qazîzade M. Şewqî, Weten, issue 11, p. 14 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 516.[[Çilon xane wadeyek(yanî pîyaw û jinêk) bê mal najî û eşîretêk lebo te'mîn îstîrahetî xoyan mulkyan pê dewê ke merî lê bilewerêtin û cûtî lê biken, elbette qewmêkî lebo ewey ke ser dinyaye bimênê erzêkî pê lazim e.]

[277] Qazîzade M. Şewqî, Weten, issue 11, p. 14 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 516.
[Ew erze îbaret e le mecmûî mulkî ew eşîretane. Eger wa bû, be mulahezewî ke emin Kurd im, erzî min Kurdistan e û wetenî zengînî miniş ewe ye. U be mulahezewî ke emin eşîretî'm, mulkî min Sablax e û be mulahezewî ke ferd im malî min le Sablaxê ye. Eger wa bû, manay weten mewhûm nîye. Û muhebbetî Weten, wekî Pêxember fermûyetî "hubbul-wetenî mînelîman" lazim e.]

[278] Qazîzade M. Şewqî, Weten, issue 11, p. 14 ibid. [Pes wetenî êmeke Kurdan, îbaret e le mecmûî mulkî ew eşîretane ke hemû pêkwe xizm in û hawziban in. Û lebo muhafezey mewcûdîyetî xoyan, belku çend hezar sal le wey pêş wa'd û qewlyan kirduwe ke pêkwe bi*Jîn* û le muqabilî duşminî xaricî pêkwe hereket biken]

[279] Robert J Kaiser, *The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994, p.3

Is it possible as long as I live![280]

The armistice period is an important period for Kurdish nation building process but it is also an important period for Armenian and Turkish nation building processes too. During this period all Kurdish, Armenian and Kurdish nationalists claim and demand sovereignty on the same geographical areas. In this perspective, we can look at the articles published in the journal Jîn as both a sovereignty claim of the Kurdish nationalistic movement of this area as well as the efforts to respond to the sovereignty claims of Armenian and Turkish nationalistic movements of the same areas. In Mehmed Sakin's article titled Kurdistan in the tenth issue of the journal, who the geographical area of "Kurdistan" belongs to is expressed as follows:

An overall meaning of Kurdistan is the land of Kurds. This country which includes some of the Taurus mountains Armenian plain touches is washed by Batman water, Botan water, with the other rivers that goes in to Tiglis as well as the great and little Zab rivers that runs from one side of the desolate mountainous terrain to the other touching the west corner of the Iranian plateau.[281]

During the process of nation-building grounded in cultural nationalism, language is usually used as the main binding factor for the nation, especially in the situation where no common state exists.[282] Thus, while efforts were made to determine the areas Kurds lived in based on the Kurdish language during the Constitutional Era, it can be said that it changed with the armistice period. Although the unity of language still remained important, population and population statistics came to the fore during armistice period and the writers of the journal also stressed this idea. On the first issue of the journal Haydarizade İbrahim Efendi writes the following on this subject:

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[280] A. Rahmi, *Eşqa Welat, Jîn*, issue 3, p. 16. M. Emîn Bozarslan 1985, p. 255 [Dibêjin welat bo dijmin e. Ez sax bibim qet mimkin e!]

[281] Mehmed Sakin,*Kürdistan, Jîn,* issue 10, p. 6 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, Jîn, 1985, 481.
[Kürdistan, şümullü mânasıyle "Kürdler memleketi"dir. Ermeni ovasına payandalık eden Toros dağının bir kısmını ihtiva eden bu memleketi, Batman su ve Bohtan su ve Dicle'ye akan diğer nehirlerle, ıssız dağlık araziyi bir taraftan diğer tarafa kat'eden ve büyük Iran yaylasının münteha-ı garbisini tahdîd eden Büyük ve Küçük Zab nehirleri irva eder.]

[282] Tomasz D. I. Kamusella, "Language as an instrument of nationalism in Central Europe", in *Nations and Nationalism* 7 (2), 2001, 235-251, ASEN 2001

These brave people who proved their commitment and their servitude towards the Ottoman Empire and the Islam Caliphate with their swords and their blood are at least five million people and they live in the mountains and land starting lengthwise from Kars and Erzurum, ending in Iran's Shiraz and Isfahan, cross-wise starting from Tabriz going towards Aleppo.[283]

During the armistice period, population was seen as an indispensable element over the land that was being claimed for sovereignty. This case brought with it the fact that many articles written in the journal about Kurds and Kurdistan included the discourse of population in them. Although it was a very important subject around that time, it can be said that there were no consensus regarding the population of Kurds. In the tenth issue of the journal Mehmet Sakin gives this information about where Kurds live and their population:

Out of the general Kurdish population, 1 million 650 thousand Turkey Kurds, 800 thousand Iran Kurds and 50 thousand Russia Kurds make out around more then two and a half million. However there are no dependable statistics. While a big portion of them are settled in the land of Kurdistan, the rest of them are scattered around the Sakarya River on the west of Lake Urmia, on the east as well as Kars to the north and Sinjar Mountain to the south. Apart from that, there are Kurds isolated in Horasan too.[284]

Boundaries determined by the nationalist elite lead the nation to be territorialized and the territory to be nationalized and thus become the homeland, therefore both nation and homeland constructed through this relationship of mutual belonging.

As it was thought that European powers were going to have a say in the determination of the remaining areas of the Ottoman Empire, more often then not western articles were either shown as a reference or translated in the journal in order to be able to determine Kurdish geography. Here are some references made by Süleymaniyeli Tevfik in the fourth issue:

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[283] Haydarizade İbarahim, Bir Hasb-ı hal, Jîn, issue, 1 p. 3. Bozarslan, M. Emîn *Jîn*, 1985, 203.
[Tûlen Kars ve Erzurum'dan başlayarak İran'ın Şiraz ve İsfahan'ına kadar imtidad eden cibal ve arazi dahiline ve arzen Tebriz'den Haleb cihetlerine kadar yayılıp, laakal beş milyon nüfus teşkil eden ve Hilâfet-i muazzame-i İslâmiye ile devlet-i ebedmüddet-i Osmaniyeye sadakat ve ubudiyetini kılıcıyle, kanıyle isbat etmiş olan bu kavm-i şecî, mâruz kalmış olduğu mevki-i müşkili enzar-ı nısfet ve mürüvvete arz etmek için, şimdiye kadar kullanmadığı bir vasıtaya, kelk-i beyane müracaat mecburiyetinde bulunuyor.]

[284]Mehmed Sakin*, Kurdistan, Jîn,* issue 10, p. 6. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 481.
[Kürd nüfus-ı umumiyesi, 1.650.000'i Türkiya Kürdleri,(493) 800.000 İran Kürdleri ve 50.000'i Rusya Kürdleri olmak üzre iki buçuk milyonu mütecaviz olduğu muhtemeldir. Fakat şayan-ı itimad istatistik yoktur Kısmı âzami nefs-i Kürdistan'da bulunmakla beraber, Kürdler müteferrik olarak garbde Sakarya nehrinden şarkta Rumye gölüne ve şimalde Kars'tan cenubde Sıncar dağına kadar yayılmıştır. Bundan başka, Horasan'da tecerrüd halinde Kürdler bulunmaktadır.]

In addition to these, French and English writings were shown as evidence by my friends, such works that I can think of are World's inhabitants 1892 and Encyclopaedia of World's Religions 1890 both by G. T. Bettany, six volumes of Today's Universe by Moncrieff, Tyler's World's Sections, American Doctor Kin's Human Science and finally the one that has more details than any of the others is Monsieur Ritche's book. There is news of Kurdistan starting form the lands of Luristan, Feylistan, Bextyarî, Zend and Lekve Kelhur reaching towards Belh Mountains.[285]

Nostalgic longing for a homeland in the writings penned by nationalist intellectuals are frequently seen. In these articles homeland is mostly conceived as a piece of paradise and other geographies are compared with the homeland. In these comparisons, mostly "homeland" and the uniqueness of everything contained in the homeland are stressed. Abdurrahim Rahmi Zapsu expresses longing for the homeland in the ninth issue of the journal as follows:

Therefore that time which I spent in the homeland, never goes out of my mind; I always imagine it. That colorful plateau covered by roses, those flowers (…)
It is a sample from the heaven. There are plateaus all around, (…) however they are not as lovely as my country's…[286]

The emphasis of 'homeland' is also purposive as it constructs an image of the 'Kurdish nation', which had lived in a determined homeland from ancient times with its culture, language, and history through the success of its ancient dynasties. That's why the definition of the homeland goes hand in hand with sanctifying it;

Ahhh, I always sigh with the deep longing of the beautifully scented flowers that strokes one's soul and the emerald coloured grass because the sky, the sunshine and the weather there are different. The sun gives out pink, violet and yellow lights through its golden wings in the blue and light sky, opening the most troubled of hearts and curing the most incurable troubles. Everything seems and feels different there. That's why I always think of and long for that place.[287]

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[285] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, Kurrdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime Mektub, Jîn, issue, 4, p. 2-3 Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 287. [Bunlardan ziyade Fransızca ve Almanca eserler, arkadaşlarım tarafından istişhad olunmak üzre, tercümelerine vâkıf olduğum İngiliz müverrihlerinden Tabanin'in "Meskûne-i Cihan"(World'sinbaitasby, G.T. 1892) ve "Diyanet-i Akvam"(World'sqs Religionsby 1890), Monqrif'in "Bugünkü Kâinat" namıyle yazdığı altı cild, Tyler'ın "Şuubât-ı Alem" ve Amerikalı Doktor Kin'in "İlm-i insan" kitablarıyle ve hepsinden ziyade tafsilâtı hâvî olan Mösyö Ritche'ın eserlerinde Kürdler, Luristan, Feylistan, Bextyarî, Zend, Lek, Kelhur diyarlarından Belh dağlarına kadar bir Kürdistan haber veriliyor.]

[286] A.Rahmi*, Welat, Jîn*, issue, 9 p. 16. Bozarslan, *Jîn,* 1986, 440. Lewra ew wextê min li welat derbaz kiri, çu caran ji bîra min naçit; hemî wextan li pêş çavê min e. Ew zozanê reng reng di gulan da xemilî, ew sosin û beybûnêd taze di bin kewîyêd berfê derketî, ew hewayê saf bi wanbêhnan, numûnekê ji cennete ye. Li hemî deran zozan hene, li hemî deran pez heye. Ez nizanim ji ber çi, hin de wan zozanan, wan çıyan, wan pezan li min şîrîn nayetin.

[287] Yamulkizade A.A. *Girdî Seywan* issue, 8, p. 9. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 419. [Oooh, o muattar çiçeklerin, o ruhnevaz kokuların, o zümrüd-fâm çimenlerin tahassür-i derunîsiyle her zaman inlerim. Çünkü

The perception of homeland is reinforced by the sanctification of geographic items. In the 23rd issue of the journal Mirzayê Cizirî writes about how the Euphrates, Tigris and Asi rivers realize their mission to protect the homeland in his Hicran-ı Bohtan article:

I am not going to talk about the millions of people our country has. Everyone knows Kurds. I have more loyal, soulful and selfless citizens then them. Do you know whom I am talking about? Some of them are trying to cradle the clean earth they are passionate about by running very excited and giddy, slamming from rock to rock in order to create an ocean of fence around the country that is as beautiful as a rose garden. Some of them are erected with equanimity and poise in the centre of the country like an imposing statue to watch over. Other ones have opened their mounts like a crocodile to swallow the enemy who wants to attack the domestic territory, with a magnificent and imposing attitude saying, "do not come". (…)[288]

It is put forth by Smith, that the 'nationalist spatial vision' is both 'tangible' and 'practical'; on the one hand, the homeland was a territory on which the nation could be built, on the other hand it contained an archaic "mystery" which releases the sign of antiquity.[289] In the following part I will go on with the glorification of the history by Kurdish elites of that time.

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oradaki sema, oradaki zıya, oradaki hava başkadır. Maî ve açık semasının üstünde şehbal-ı zerîninden penbe, eflâtun, sarı ziyalar saçan güneşen kasvetli kalblere güşayış, en deva-nâpezîr derdlere deva verir. Orada her şey, bana başka gelir ve öyle görünür. Onun için ben orayı her an anar ve ararım.]

[288] Mîrzayê Cizîrî,*Hicrân-ı Bohtan, Jîn,* issue, 23, p.2-3 Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 9865.
[Milyonlarca ehl-i vatandan bahsetmeyeceğim. Kürdleri herkes tanıyor. Be nim, bunlardan başka daha vefadar, daha hassas ve fedakâr vatandaşlarım var. Kimlerdir bilir misiniz? Kimi, sergerdan ve pürheyecan, taştan taşa çarparak gülzar-ı vatan etrafında bir umman-ı mevani vücuda getirmek için koşuyor, meftun olduğu o hâk-i paki deragûş etmeye çalışıyor. Kimi kemal-i temkin ve iclâl ile merkez-i vatanda bir heykel-i mehabet gibi dikilmiş, nigehban-ı vatandır. Bir diğeri, hâk-i payı endaz-ı tecavüz olmak isteyen ağyarı iltikam için timsah-ı zil'ecnah gibi ağzını açmış, müdhiş ve mehîb bir tavır ve eda ile "sakın gelme" diyor.]

[289] Anthony D Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations, Oxford,* Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1986, p.184

3. Glorification of the Past

We come across history as an important tool nationalist intellectuals use during the nation building process. History that is approached from the perspective of the nationalist intellectuals is introduced to achieve the intended purpose.[290] In this regard, highlighting the importance of history, referencing heyday, historical personalities and states or emirates serves through the national awakening or awareness.[291]

We can see that from the first Kurdish newspaper Kürdistan to our research subject the journal *Jîn*, almost all newspapers and journals approach history as a tool to aid in national awakening. References made to Eyyubi and Mervani states created by Kurds[292] as well as Cizre and Botan Emirates being described as the golden era of the history[293] shows us how history was approached with this purpose. Again it is possible to see the importance of history and its role in the nation building process in *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals, which were the publication of KTHC.[294] On the cover of the first *Rojî Kurd* journal there was a photo of Selahattin Eyyubi and on the cover of the second *Rojî Kurd* journal there was a photo of Kerim Han Zend. One of them being the founder of the Eyyubi State and the other, the founder of Zend Emirates, which had reigned in Iran, can be seen as the glorification of the past and mythification of these historical figures.

Intellectuals create the collective identity as part of the nation building process based on collective past, joint memories and unity of destiny.[295] During the collective identity building

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[290] Geoffrey A. Hosking ve George Schöpflin, ed, *Myths and nationhood* (New York: Routledge in association with the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London, 1997), 37.
[291] Anthony D Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, UK: B. Blackwell, 1986), 191.
[292] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 433.
[293] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 230.
[294] Duman ve M.S. Program in Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, *The formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914*, 114.
[295] Hosking ve Schöpflin, *Myths and nationhood*, 73.

process, nationalist intellectuals choose myths of roots, ancientness and autochthonism very carefully.

History was one of the most discussed subjects by the Kurdish intellectuals in the journal *Jîn* as it was an important period for Turkish and Kurdish nation building during the armistice period. According to Anthony D. Shmit, the myth of ancientness is nearly as important for the nationalist intellectuals as national liberation.[296] Therefore it is valuable to look at how and to what extent the myth of ancientness was discussed in the journal Jîn.

a. Searching for the Roots

> Every nation searches for the traces of their ancestors in the dark pre-historical roads. We need to join this. Therefore we need to start by determining the roots.[297]

The discourse of nationalism asserts that humanity is divided into distinct nations, each with its own separate past, present and destiny.[298] In order to claim the right for self-ruling, a nation has to set itself as a distinct nation with a separate past. As Hobsbawm states that "What makes a nation is the past; what justifies one nation against others is the past" he goes on by saying that nations without a past are contradictions in terms.[299] Kurdish elites being aware that they had to introduce a past for Kurdish people to feel themselves as part of a common destiny, they began searching for their roots.

We can see the traces of discussions about the root of Kurds in almost all newspapers and journals from the first Kurdish newspaper *Kürdistan* to our research subject the journal *Jîn*. It is possible to come across different opinions about the roots of Kurds in the journals

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[296] Ibid., 41.

[297] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî*, Kürdler İrani Değil midir? Jîn,* issue, 18, p. 8. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 805.
[Her millet, kablettarihin karanlık yollarında eser-i ecdadı arıyor. Bizde bu kervana karışmak ihtiyacındayız. Bu takdirde işe, bizde de tâyin-i menşeden başlamak icab ediyor.]

[298] Umut Özkırımlı, *Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement*, New York: Palgrave, 2000, p.2

[299] E.J Hobsbawm, 'Ethnicity and Nationalism in Europe Today', in Mapping the Nation, G. Balakrishnan (ed.), London: Verso, 1996, pp. 255-66. P.255

published before Jîn. For example this is what Abdurrahman Bedirxan wrote in the 24th issue of Kurdistan regarding the roots of Kurds.

In history, we come across a nation called Corduene who were the enemy of Assyrians. Also the ancient Persian official records prove the fact that Corduenes are todays Kurds. In the ancient Persian official records Kurds were known with the names of "kardik" and " Kardyen". In Zend language as well as the Sanskrit, which was the root of Zend language, the words "Kardu" and "Kardyen" are the roots for todays "Kurd". Because these words mean "hero" and "brave", it is ample evidence that the bravery this nation possesses is an eternal legacy.[300]

As we can see from the citation above, Abdurrahman Bedirxan suggests that the roots of Kurds are Corduenes, the enemy of Assyrians. But in the journal *Rojî Kurd's* first issue, Xezal pen named writer defends the idea of Kurds coming from the Assyrian race:

We Kurds and Armenians are originally Assyrians. When Jesus appeared on the earth, Kurds and Armenians were not separated. Jesus sent Apostles among Assyrians, they taught them the religion. Some of the Assyrians who believed in Apostles went up to the mountains, they read, wrote and they were called Kurd. Some of them stayed and they were called Armenian[301]

Xezal isn't the only writer who suggests that Kurds and Armenians come from the same race. In *Hetawî Kurd* journal's second issue, Mevlanzade Rıfat suggests the same idea:

As we know, Kurds and Armenians both come from the Urdu-Urartu race. We both started in the "Urdu" nation, which was situated in the land that was covering the area from Philistine Mountains to Rawanduz Mountains. Armenians and us are both the children of this "Urdu" race. While we had the same alphabet, literature and language, Armenians accepted Christianity and searched for a way of being (existence) that was different to ours.[302]

Both Mevlanzade Rıfat and Xezal suggest that Kurds and Armenians both come from the same race. But while Xezal suggests the idea that both races come from Assyrian descend, Mevlanzade Rıfat suggests they come from Urdu race. The fact that the idea of Kurds and Armenians coming from the same race is expressed in two journals of the second constituional period can be seen as the efforts of Kurdish intellectuals to create a common ground with Armenians. But the fact that there were three different opinions about the roots of

[300] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 432.
[301] *Rojî Kurd 1913*, 122.
[302] Maevlanzade Rıfat, «Muhterem Hetawî Kurd Gazetesi Müessislerine», *Resimli Kitab matbaası, İstanbul*, Teşrîn-i Sani 1329.

Kurds in three different journals of the time can show us that Kurdish intellectuals didn't have any systematic work about the subject of roots until the armistice period.

In 1918 approaching the armistice period, a book called Kuds: Historical and Social Investigation was published by Aşair-i Muhacirin Müdiriyet-i Umumiyyesi (General Directorate of Tribes and Emigrants) and this book can be said to show Turkish nationalists approach towards Kurds. The mission of this establishment makes the suggestions made in the book more important. According to Serhat Bozkurt who did research about the structure, function and the publications of this establishment, the main mission of it, is to create a homogenous Turkish "nation" in terms of "religion" and "language" through dispatch, re-housing, exile, assimilation and civilizing.[303] The aim of Turkish nationalists through the Kurds book was to either erase or to blur the historical memory of Kurds, as it was clearly hard to assimilate a nation with a historical memory of its own.[304] This book starts without any introduction or a preface and directly goes in to the most important and the first section of the book called "the roots of Kurds". The Kurds' national myths, religion, language and literature were discussed. Through the word Kurd and the Kurds' past, the book vaguely tries to imply that the Kurds are actually Turkish as their roots aren't clear while it tries to "prove" that they don't belong to Georgian, Arabic or Persian ancestry.[305] This book is important because many articles written in Jîn about the roots of Kurds are Reponses to the allegations made in this book. It can be said that the publication of the book was received differently by different Kurdish intellectuals of the time. Kamuran Ali Bedirxan, one of the *Jîn* writers and a symbol name for the Kurdish nationalism, mentions the fact that he was delighted about the publishing of this book in an article he wrote in *İçtihad* journal, a journal that was published

[303] Serhat Bozkurt, «Bir Toplumsal Mühendislik Kurumu Olarak "Aşâir Ve Muhâcirîn Müdîriyyet-İ Umûmiyyesi"» (Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, 2014), 166.
[304] Ibid., 158.
[305] Ibid., 159.

before the journal *Jîn*.[306] Opposite to Kamuran Ali Bedirxan, another Jîn Journal writer Kurdiyê Bitlisi had seen the allegations made in the book as an attack to the Kurdish national memory and he responded to these allegations with his articles in the journal.

The Kurds book refers to three main areas to determine the roots of a nation and lists them as: national myths, language and social structure. It further suggests that Kurdish roots cannot be determined based on these three points and therefore their roots are unknown.

In the book called Şerefname written by ŞerefXanê Bitlîsî in 1597, Dehak Legend is shown as an evidence for Iranian roots of the Kurdish "nation".[307]The *Kurds* book blames ŞerefXanê Bitlîsî for being under the influence of Iran[308] and suggests that Kurds can be a Turani race[309]. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî argued with this idea and wrote:

Şeref Han wasn't a person who was under the influence of Iran as was claimed but rather the contrary. He was a happy man who realized the forgotten truth about Kurds roots being from Iran. As a historian, he didn't think anything else apart from recording and writing the widespread rumors between his people.[310]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, defended the idea of Kurds belonging to the Iranian race referencing what Şerefxanê Bitlîsî wrote about the Dehak Legend in his book called Şerefname. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî writes in the first issue of the *Jîn* Journal:

There is an Arabic conqueror called Dehak. This tyrant who conquers Iran dishes out the brains of four people very day in order to feed two snakes he keeps on each of his shoulders. The person who does this job for him tries to save his fellow citizens by replacing two human brains with sheep brains each day and smuggles the two people he rescued to the mountains surrounding the area. The number of people who took refuge in the mountains grows and becomes the Kurdish nation.[311]

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[306]Kamran Ali, *Kürdler Tarihi ve İçtimaî Tedkikat,* İçtihad 14 Teşrinievvel 1918 Sayı: 130 Cilt: 15, İstanbul, https://sureli.mkutup.gov.tr/detail.php?makale_id=36636

[307] Şerefhan Bitlisi, *Şerefname*, çev. Abdullah Yegin, c I (İstanbul: Nûbihar, 2013), 62.

[308] Dr. Friç, *Kürdler, Tarihi ve İçtima'i Tedkikat* (Istanbul: Aşair-i Muhacirin Müdiriyet-i Umumiyesi, 1334), 10.

[309] Ibid., 18.

[310] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdler Münasebetiyle, Jîn, issue, 3 p. 4. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 260.
[Şeref Han, iddia olunduğu gibi İran tesirlerine mağlub değil, o zamana kadar nisyan edilmiş bir hakikati, Kürdlüğün İran milliyetine mensubiyetini ilk evvel idrak eden bir bahtiyardır. Milleti arasında tedavül eden rivayâtı bir müverrih sıfatıyle aynen kayd-ü zabt etmekten başka bir şey düşünmemiştir.]

[311] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdler Münasebetiyle, Jîn, issue, 1 p. 9-10 ibid., 207. ["Dehak" adlı bir Arab fatihi var. İran'ı istilâ eden bu zalim, her gün, iki omuzundaki yılanları tağdiye için dört kişinin beynini çıkartıyor. Bu işin memuru, milletdaşlarının zayiatını bir derece azaltmak için, yevmiye iki kişinin beyni yerine iki koyun beyni koyuyor ve tahlis ettiği iki bîçareyi civar dağlara kaçırıyor. Dağlara iltica eden bu adamlar çoğalıyorlar. İşte bunlardan Kürd milleti meydana geliyor.]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî suggests the following ideas about the root of Kurds through the relationship between the Dehak legend and the place where it was based:

> The Kurdish nation is about people who were smuggled in to the mountains, away from the people who served as their ancestors and the first real inhabitants of this area. Our legend doesn't relate our nation with Gods or supernatural powers. It relates itself with working people who were born and raised in a certain region of the earth. The where this legend takes place is Isfahan. Therefore the almighty ancestors of Kurds are the children of the race who were living around the area of Isfahan and this tells us that Kurds are an Iranian nation.[312]

It can be said that Kurdiyê Bitlîsî tries to point out the roots of Kurds based on the Dehak Legend while also defending the idea that the Kurds are an ancient and an autochthonous nation. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî lists the conclusions he reached in his long article about the Dehak Legend as such:

1. Kurd's roots are certainly Iranian and they are more ancient then any other Iranian nations.
2. Although some Kurds moved towards the west during the period of Dehak, afterwards they moved north to settle in their real nation's political area, Kurdistan.
3. The nation who ended the concurrence of Dehak isn't anybody else but the Kurdish nation itself.[313]

In the Kurds book, it is stated that the root of the Kurdish language is the Iranian branch of Indo-European languages. But it was also stated that out of the 8307 words that were researched only 300 of them were Kurdish. [314] In this case, the conclusion was made as even though Kurdish appears to belong to the Indo-European languages based on its grammar rules, it wouldn't be right to use the Kurdish language as a basis for the determination of the origin of Kurds.[315] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî responded to allegations made in this book and the idea of

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[312] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler Münasebetiyle,* issue, 1 p. 9-10 ibid., 190–91.[Kürd millet dağa kaçırılan ve kendisine meşe' vazifesini gören adamların içinden çekilüb alındığı muhitin sekene'i asliyesiyle alakadardır. Çünkü efsanemiz bazı milletlerde olduğu gibi neslimizi favk-el beşer kuvvetlere, me'budlara, hayvanata itsal itdirmiyor. Mu'in bir mıntıka-i arzda doğub büyümüş insanlar arasından çalınmış eşhas ile birleşdiriyor. Efasnenin müvellidi olan vakı'anın mahal-ı cereyanı İsfahandır. Binaberin Kürdlerin ecdad-ı aliyesinin yani milliyete menşe' gösterilen çocukların, Dehak zamanında İsfahan civarında yaşayan kavmin evladından bulundukları ve bunun da Kürdlerin hakiki bir İranlı millet olduklarını taayyün eder.]

[313] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdler Münasebetiyle, issue, 1 p, 11. Ibid., 192.[1- Kürd, menşe itibariyle katiyen İranlıdır ve bunda akvam-ı İraniyenin cümlesinden kıdemlidir. 2- Bir kısım Kürdler Dehak zamanında garbe doğru yayılmışlarsa da, tekrar şimale teveccüh ederek vatan-ı aslîleri aksam-ı siyasiyesinden olan şimdiki Kürdistan dağlarına yetişmişlerdir. 3- Dehak istilâsına nihayet veren millet, Kürd aile-i kadîmesinden başka bir millet değildir.]

[314] Dr. Friç, *Kürdler, Tarihi ve İçtima'i Tedkikat*, 12.

[315] Ibid., 13–14.

Kurds belonging to the Sami race suggested in the fourth issue of the *Kürdistan journal* as such:

If even a person with only a primary school education would look at the word, sentence structure and grammar of the Kurdish language, they could see that it has Iranian roots. It is laughable to call a nation Sami or Uralaltaic knowing that they speak an Iranian language.[316]

In the *Kurds book*, it was stated that the source that was going to be taken into consideration after the national myths and language was social construction and culture. As it was stated in the book that Kurds didn't have any history, as a result, the conclusion was made that they didn't have a culture either.[317] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî points out at the weaknesses of social structure analyses on the subject of determining the origin in the 19th issue of the *Jîn*:

Social structure is the weakest leg of the three-legged guide of origin determination. You have to have caution when processing the information gained from this subject. Because the nations, especially the Near Eastern nations are really mixed together in a very complicated way. They are affected by the invasions and migrations that have been going on for centuries and their traditions are all mixed together becoming universal.[318] (s9 s6)(Bozarslan 839-840)

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî tries to say that traditions wouldn't be helpful in determining the origin as they have intertwined and became more universal due to invasions and migrations. But he expressed his thoughts on the strong tribal structuring and mode of organisation of the Kurds pointing towards the truth of Kurds being a nation of Iranian origin:

The significant and main attributes of todays Kurdish tribal organisations won't give us the clues about them belonging to Sami or Uralaltic origins but it directs us to precisely the Iranian origin. Really, the short information given below about the similarities between the old Iranian tribal organisations and our today's generations are among the evidence that reinforces our claim.[319] (s19 s6-7)(Bozarslan 840)

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[316] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdler İranî Değil midir?, issue, 19, p, 5-6. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn, Cild 4*, 1987, 839. [İbtidaî bir derece-i tahsilin idare edebileceği ufak bir atf-ı nazar, isbat ve irade eder ki, Kürdçenin sarf-ü nahvi, lisanın lübbü "İranî"dir. Bu sarahata rağmen, bu dili konuşan milletin Samî veya Turanî menşee malikiyetini iddia edebilmek, doğrusu pek gülünç olur.]

[317] Dr. Friç, *Kürdler, Tarihi ve İçtima'i Tedkikat*, 10.

[318] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürtler İrani Değil midir?, Jîn, issue, 19, p, 6. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 839–840.[Menşe taharriyâtını idare eden kılavuz sehpasının en zayıf ayağını, ahval-ı içtimaiye tedkikatı teşkil eder. Bundan istihsal edeceğimiz malumatı kayd-ı ihtiyatla telâkki mecburiyeti vardır. Çünkü milletler, hususîyle Şark-ı Karîb akvamı biri birine o kadar girift bir hale gelmiş, asırlarca temadî ve hâlâ devam eden istilâ ve muhaceretler o kadar azîm tesirler ika eylemiştir ki, bu müessirât, âdât-ü ananâtı mezc-ü tevhid ile cihanî bir vaziyete kalb eylemiştir.]

[319] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürtler İrani Değil midir?, Jîn, issue, 19, p, 6-7. Ibid., 840. [Kürd aşiret teşkilâtının bugünkü hutût-ı asliye ve bârizesi, O'nu Samî, Turanî değil, fakat muhakkak surette "İranî" bir asle îsal ediyor. Filhakika,

In order to prove the thesis that Kurds are from an Iranian origin, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî writes about the Iranian type of social structuring:

The main attribute in the Iranian type of social organisation is tribal organisation. Which goes hand in hand with the way this nation lives as warriors and shepherds. These small organisations made out of a few families of the clans divided the country in small pieces like towns in our day. The pieces that were sprung from the division were assuring for the personal and regional freedom Iranians like to possess and they were living totally separate from each other. They sometimes would have a president to govern them but mostly they had a tribal council. The way they were governed was exactly like a republic.[320]

After reading the above citation where the Iranian type of social structuring is explained, it can be said that Kurds coincide with tribal confederations. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî defends the idea that Kurds differ from Sami and Uralaltic roots and they are instead a pure Iranian nation as:

Now we can see that Kurds have no connections with the Sami or Uralaltic races and they are a pure "Iranian" race. After bringing the subject this far, I am going back to my question of "whether our nation has a history or not" and I am answering this question by saying: yes, we have a history and it is compiled[321]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî wrote a long article about the origins of Kurds and he created these three points as a conclusion;

If we summarise:

1. Kurds are an Iranian nation.
2. Kurd's origin is the same as the community called "Iran".
3. Kurd's history is exactly the same as the history of Iran.[322]

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biraz sonra bir nebze bahsedilecek olan kadîm İranî aşiret teşkilâtıyle bugünkü neslimizin muhafaza ettiği eşkâl arasında mevcud mutabakatlar, bu iddiamızı teyid eden berahîn cümlesindendir.]

[320] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürtler İrani Değil midir? Jîn, issue, 21, p,20-21. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 920. [İranî teşkilât-ı ictimaiyesinde esas, milletin yaşamakta olduğu hayat-ı cengâverane ve râiyaneye pek ziyade tevafuk eden kabile teşkilâtıdır. Birkaç aileden terekküb eden kabilelerin birleşmesinden meydana gelen daha kuvvetli kitleler, memleketi, âdeta zamanımızın nahiye veya kaza teşkilâtı vüs'atinde lâyuadd küçük parçalara ayırırdı. "İranî" mizacının çok sevdiği hürriyet-i ferdiye ve mahalliyeyi temin eden bu tarz-ı inkısamdan doğan parçalar, yekdiğerinden tamamen ayrı yaşıyorlardı. Bunların başında, bazen münferid bir reis ve ekseriya bir kabile meclisi bulunurdu. İdare, tam mânasıyle cumhurî idi.]

[321] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürtler İrani Değil midir? Jîn, issue, 19, p, 7. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 840. [İmdi, anlıyoruz ki Kürdler, ne Sam ırkı, ne de Turan zümresiyle alış-verişi olmayan saf bir "İranî" millettir. Meseleyi buraya kadar getirdikten sonra, yukarıda îrad ettiğim "acaba milletimizin bir tarihi yok mudur?" sualine avdet ediyorum ve cevaben diyorum ki: Milletimizin tarihi mevcud ve müdevvendir!]

[322] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürtler İrani Değil midir? Jîn, issue, 21, p, 11. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 920.
[Hulasa:
1- Kürdler "İranî" bir millettir.
2- Kürd'ün menşei, "İran" namıyle yad edilen mecmuun menşeinden ibarettir.
3- Kürd'ün tarihi, bilâ tefrik "İran" kitle-i azîmesinin tarihinden terekküb eder.]

As we mentioned before, the discussions surrounding the origin of Kurds were different from each other until the armistice period. It can be said that with the armistice period, these discussions became more frequent and more consistent especially in the journal *Jîn*. The idea of Kurds being an Iranian nation wasn't only mentioned by Kurdiyê Bitlîsî but many other writers of Jîn Journal defended the same idea. In the introduction section of Abdülaziz Yamulki's, the History of Baban Emirate, which was published serially in the journal Jîn, Abdülaziz Yamulki responds to the claims Kurds Book makes about Baban Emirate being Turkish[323]:

> I will come back to the subject after mentioning the weirdness of how the book called Kurds published by the General Directorate of Tribes and Emigrants doesn't mention the fact that the family in the story of The Emirate of Baban was from Iran and how basing their argument on Turkishness and Uralaltic roots they suggest that "the word bebe was a Turkish word for a child and this was the evidence of the emirate being a Turkish one".[324]

It can be said that there is consensus about the Iranian origin of Kurds between the writers of the journal. During the nation building process, the nationalist intellectuals join forces to ensure the roots and ancientness of the ethnic group they belong to. It is also possible to come across writings where these both subjects are intertwined in *Jîn* Journal. Below, Mehmed Sakin discusses the ancientness and the roots of Kurds in his article that was published in the 12th issue of the journal *Jîn*:

> In the past when the origins of Kurds were being researched, it was enough to say that they were from the Carduchi race that resisted the Ten Thousand Army through the mountains. But the historical truths surfacing recently take Kurds way back to much older times than Greek period.[325]

Surely the question of when Kurds who's history goes way back to much older times then the Greek period came on to the stage in history, was one of the important subjects dealt with by

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[323] Dr. Friç, *Kürdler, Tarihi ve İçtima'i Tedkikat*, 208.

[324] Yamulkizade Aziz, Kürt Tarihinden Baban Hanedanı, Jîn, issue, 9, p, 2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 444–445. [Aşair ve Muhacirin Müdîriyet-i Umumiyesinin neşrettiği "Kürdler" nam eserinde, "Bebe kelimesinin çocuk mânasına gelerek Tükçe olduğu ve bu sebeble sülâlenin Türk olduğuna kuvvetli bir delil teşkil ettiğini", Türkçülük ve Turancılık eserine tevfikan ailenin Türk olduğunu ileriye sürerek İran'dan geldiklerine dair bahsedilmediği garabetini yazdıktan sonra sadede rücu ediyorum.]

[325] Mehmed Sakin, Kürdistan Tarihi, Jîn, issue, 12, p, 1. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 556. [Mukaddema, Kürdlerin aslı tedkik olunurken, Onbinler Ordusunun dağlar arasından ricatına muhalefet eden "Karduşi"(Carduchi)ler neslinden olduklarını farz ve tahmin etmek kâfi addolunmakta idi. Halbuki ahîren meydana çıkan hakayık-ı tarihiye, Kürdleri Yunan devrinden daha pek çok uzak zamanlara irca ediyor.]

the writers of the journal. In the seventh issue of the journal, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik refers to the response Kurdiye Bitlîsî had towards the Kurds book and he says the Kurds are an ancient Aryan nation that existed since the stone ages.[326] Below Süleymaniyeli Tevfik states that although he believes in the ideas historians agree about, he finds Haci Qadirê Koyi's opinion about Kurd's connecting with Prophet Noah more logical:

Therefore, I think the most reasonable opinion is the opinion of Hacı Kadir who was a Kurdish poet and a true mourner of Kurds. Long live to our brother Hayali, because he brings back Hacı Kadir with his writings. In one of his poems, The deceased goes like this: "Seeing that Noah's ark stayed in Mount Cudî and the Kurds kept their existence around this area since that time, that means the Kurds decided their real homeland since the flood".[327]

Kurdish intellectuals with the idea that a written history had a role in the construction of a 'national consciousness' or a 'collective identity' were searching a way to make Kurds realize 'their glorious past'. In line with this idea Kurdiyê Bitlîsî wrote the following;

Babylonian and Assyrian discoveries illuminate the history of many migrations and it gives us important documents about the number of them. According to an account that coincides with what the Keldanian priest Behros writes, an Iranian invasion army that came down from the Euphrates and Tigris valleys took over Babylon and ended the first emperor of Keldani in 2400 BC. The invaders settled in Babylon and had power for 224 years. When the number 2400 and "Vandîdad" journals suggested time spent for the overcoming of "14 phases of migration" 3000 years seems logical. Our nation came in to history at that time. Because sometimes it had to deal with its internal affairs, it would disappear from history for a while and come back again soon.[328]

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[326] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn*, issue, 7, p, 1. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384. [I don't understand how the "Aryans" who went around the furthest horizons of earth went from the North Africa to Middle Asia. I don't understand how these people who were used to hot climates stayed naked in the Caucasus mountains as there were no clothing then. But as historians all agree on this, I didn't question it. They tell us that Kurds come from the "Qardu" line of Aryans that settled around Meyyafarqîn and Caucasus and they existed since the stone ages.]

[327] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn*, issue, 7, p, 1. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384. [Mamafih bana kalırsa, en mâkul ietihad, Kürd şairi ve Kürdlüğün yegâne nevhakeri merhum Hacı Kadir'indir. Var olsun biraderimiz Hayalî, ki Hacı Kadir'i eserleriyle ihya ediyor. Merhum, bir manzumesinde diyor ki: "Madem Nuh gemisi cebel-i Cudî'de kaldı ve o vakitten beri de Kürdler cebel-i Cudî etrafında ibka-i mevcudiyet etmişlerdir, tufandan beri Kürdler me'va-i asliyelerinde berkarardırlar".]

[328] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürtler İrani Değil midir? Jîn*, issue, 21, p, 9-10. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 919. [Tarihin, adedleri pek kesîr olan mechulâtından birçoklarını tenvîr eden Babil ve Asur keşfiyâtı, bize, bu adedin tahkikine yarayacak mühim bir vesika veriyor. Keldanî Rahibi "Behros"un eseriyle teeyyüd eden bir rivayete nazaran, Milâddan 2400 sene evvel Dicle ve Fırat vadilerini takiben aşağılara sarkan "İranî" bir istilâ kuvveti, "Babil'i zabtederek Keldanî hükümetinin Birinci Sülâlesine hitam vermiştir. Müstevliler Babil'de tesis-i hükümetle, tamam 224 sene hükümran oldular. Bu istilânın mebdeini işaret eden 2400 adediyle "Vandîdad" mecmuasının zikrettiği 14 merhale-i hicretin kat'ı için sarfedilen zaman takribî olarak hesab edilirse, 3000 sene, hakikate mukarın bir rakam gibi kabul olunabilir.]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî suggests that Kurds came in to the stage of history 3000 years ago, and by mentioning their ancestry as Medes he points to the ancientness of this nation. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, writes about the way Medes fought with the Assyrians in 1000 BC and how they stayed firmly in history since then. [329]

Another contributor of the journal who had a military background like Kurdiyê Bitlîsî was Yamulkizade Abdülaziz and he often defended the idea that Kurds were a "nation" of Iranian origin in his articles. Yamulkizade Abdülaziz also agreed with Kurdiyê Bitlîsî about the Medes being the ancestor of Kurds. He explains this thought in the fifth issue of the journal:

Because the Kurdish folk weren't made out of a population where emotions, connections and interests were in conflict or of a population who slows down, this makes it difficult or impossible in terms of progress and betterment within. They were made out of Medes and Iranians who took over the state and enlarged their boundary. After all they were the same race and same blood.[330]

It can be said that, there was a consensus about the ancestry of Kurds being Iranian and being the grandchildren of Medens in Jîn Journal. But in an article published in the fourth issue of the *Kurdistan Journal*, Seyyid Arif Bey implies to an opposing idea from *Jîn Journal* writers and he suggests that the Kurds are from Sami race. Kurdiyê Bitlîsî opposed the idea of Kurds belonging to Sami race in his article in the 18th issue of the *Jîn* Journal as below:

Seyyid Arif Bey writes, "Kurds, the children of Prophet Noah who comes from Sami race…" I think there is an error there. Until now, we though of Kurds as being from the Yafes race. Among the entire Western scholars of the last century who lifted the veil of obscurity and uncertainty from the Near Eastern peoples ancient history and allowed the emergence of very precise scientific facts whose hard work we owe all the new findings and researches, we don't come across any historians who even slightly suggests that Kurds come from a Sami race.[331]

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[329] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürtler İrani Değil midir? Jîn,* issue, 21, p, 9-10. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn,* 1988, 919. [Around 1000 years before Christ, the fact that Assyrians took over the eastern parts of Media brought this nation to the intention of history and they never disappeared again. 212 years after this date, the Media Iranians flourished as a great nation and formed their own state in 878 BC.]

[330] Kürd Gençlerinden Yamulkizade, Kürd Ne idi, Neler İster? Jîn, issue, 5, p, 1. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 314. [Çünkü Kürd kavmi, dahilde terakkî ve tekâmülü betaet ve müşkülâta ve hatta mümteni'ül icra bir hale koyacak, hissiyat ve revabıt ve menafii yekdiğerleriyle itilâf ve ittihad edemeyecek surette daima ayrı bulunduracak gayri mütecanis bir kavimden müteşekkil değildi. Asıllarını teşkil eden Medyalılar ile bilahare hükümeti ele alarak hududu daha büyülten İranîlerden mürekkeb idi ki bunlar da aynı ırktan ve aynı kandan idi.]

[331] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir? Jîn*, issue, 18, p, 5. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 802–803. [Seyyid Arif Bey, makalelerinde, "evlâd-ı Hazreti Nuh'dan Şam'ın neslinden inşiab eden Kürdler. . .ilh." diyorlar. Bunda bir zühul var zannediyorum. Biz şimdiye kadar Kürdleri "Yafesî" biliyorduk.Bu kadar Garb muhakkikin uleması arasında, bahusus Şark-ı Karîb akvamının tarih-i kadîmi üzerindeki rida-i mechuliyet ve mübhemiyeti ref eden ve pek kat'î hakaik-i ilmiyenin tezahürünü temin eyleyen tedkikat ve keşfiyat-ı cedideyi, mesaî-i

The research that was being referred to in order to determine the origins of Kurds were from Western research in accordance with the spirit of the armistice period. The sections from these researches that refer to Kurds would sometimes be translated and published in the journal or they would sometimes be used as a quote or a reference. We can talk about two practical reasons for using western works when referencing discussions about racial roots. First, the fact that the research Western researchers do was considered scientific and second, Western powers were seen as the authority that will accept the claims of sovereignty. It can be said that the thought that the origin and ancientness that would be proved based on Western research would provide legitimacy in the eyes of western powers over the geography where sovereignty were being claimed made Kurdish intellectuals lean towards Western resources. But this doesn't mean that western researches were blindly accepted. Hence, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî wrote against the idea of determining origins based on physiognomic similarities in the 18th issue of the journal:

The subjective and weak claim lower-level writers like Albert Male and his supporters make basing their research on "physiognomic similarities" they found in some Assyrian photos has been discredited itself.[332]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî says that the detection of origin based on physiological similarities would be a weak claim but in an article from the 13th issue of the journal, the same writer highlights the physiological similarities Kurds have with Medes as follows:

The information scholars of ancient times left us about the determining physical properties and faces of "Medes" and "Soromat" or "Sarmat"s are very similar to todays Kurds. Fiery, big black eyes, a very curved nose in the form of an eagle's beak and handlebar moustache gives the Kurds a predatory character. Their morals and their characters won't go against their physical attributes.[333]

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müşkilelerine medyun olduğumuz asr-ı ahîr âlimleri miyanında bir zata tesadüf edilmiyor ki, Kürdlerin Sam nesline mensubiyetine dair hatta zayıf bir rivayet dermiyan etmiş bulunsun.]

[332] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir? Jîn,* issue, 18, p, 5. Ibid., 803. ["Albert Male" gibi tarafdarlan yine kendi şahıslarına inhisar eden bazı müellifîn-i taliyenin Asur tasavîr-i metrukesinden çıkardıkları "fizyonomi" müşabehetlere istinaden meydana attıkları pek indî ve zayıf iddialar, bizatihi mecruhdurlar.]

[333] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdlere Dair, Jîn,* issue, 13, p, 11-12. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 593. [Ezmine-i atîka ulemasının "Med" ve "Soromat" veya "Sarmat'ların eşkâl ve sîması hakkında bize terkettikleri malumat, bugün dahi Kürdlere kabil-i tatbiktir: Ateşli, büyük ve siyah gözler, kartal gagası şeklinde ve çok mukavves burun, palabıyklar, Kürdlere yırtıcı bir tavır verir ve ahlak ve tabiatları da simalarını tekzib etmez.]

It can be said that the two different opinions about the subject of determining origins based on physiognomic similarities Kurdiyê Bitlîsî presents in two different issues of the journal creates a contradiction. But when all the writings of Kurdiyê Bitlîsî about the subject of origin is taken in to consideration, it can easily be seen that he doesn't defend the idea of determining origins based on physiognomic similarities. It can also be said that the reference the writer makes about the physiognomic similarities between Medes and Kurds was made as an effort towards strengthening his discourse about Kurdish ancestry. While translations and quotations from Western resources could be seen very often in the journal, the same thing wasn't true for Eastern resources. The citation below from Kurdiyê Bitlîsî about Eastern resources is very important in terms of having a grasp on the reasons of this:

> You see, the rumours like the tale of "Münzir ibni Maissema" which puts Kurd in to Arab nations communities are based on subjective classifications and therefore the quotations taken from the Eastern history usually aren't worth being used as evidence.[334]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî stresses that Eastern resources are unreliable and he explains how Kurds whom he refers to as an Iranian "nation" are represented in Persian resources:

> If we look at the Persian history, we can see an ardent and loving embrace towards Kurds that comes from real brotherhood and this is to an extent that often it would be unacceptable to call them differently from their selves.[335]

In the continuation of his article, he also refers to the Torah and what this holy book says about the origins of Kurds but he also states that the myths in the Torah cannot be used as historical evidences:

> When it comes to the Torah; although it is in a consensus with us about the Kurds coming from Yafes's race, in our times, Ahd-i Atîk legends lost their status of being taken into consideration as historical documents.[336]

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[334] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir?, Jîn*, issue, 18, p, 6 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 804. [İşte, Kürdleri, "Münzir ibni Maissema" masalı vasıtasıyle kavmiyet-i Arabiye camiasına sokan rivayet ve emsali, bu nevi tasfiât-ı indiyeye istinad eder.]

[335] Ibid. [Fürs tarihlerine bakarsak, orada hakikî bir kardeş ve kandaşlığın verdiği hararet-i muhabbetle Kürd"ün derağuş edildiğini ve hatta O'nun ayrı bir namla zikrine tahammül edilemediğini ekseriyetle müşahede ederiz.]

[336] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir?*, issue, 18, p, 6. Ibid., 803. [Tevrat'a gelince; Kürdleri nesl-i Yafes'e mensub göstermekte bizimle müttefik bulunduğu halde, "Ahd-i Atîk" efsaneleri, zamanımızda vesaik-i tarihiyeden addedilmek mevkiini artık kaybeylemiş gibidir.]

In a long article responding to Seyyid Arif Bey's theory of Kurds coming from Sami race Kurdiyê Bitlîsî makes this conclusion:

The idea that a Sami race can share the same nationality with the Iranians from the Yafes race and have affinity with them isn't a notion that can be consistent with the current understanding of history.[337]

It can be said that the argument of "Kurds being a nation of Aryan descent belonging to Iranian roots" gave Kurdish intellectuals a chance to de-attach themselves from the Turkish nation. As it was explained above, during the armistice period Turkish nationalism asserted the idea that Turks and Kurds were from the same root and by doing this they wanted to achieve both assimilation of Kurds within Turkish nationalism and strengthen their claims during the armistice period. Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the fact that in order to be able to claim sovereignty over the land they called "Kurdistan", they needed to describe themselves as a separate ethnic group from Turks. Therefore Kurdish intellectuals usually adopted an attitude that went against Turkish nationalism in the journal Jîn. Although the idea of Armenians and Kurds having the same roots were stressed during the Second Constitution Era, there were no traces of the effort towards finding any similarities with the Armenians who belonged to the Aryan race in the journal *Jîn* that were published during the Armistice period. The claim supporting the idea of Kurds and Armenians belonging to the same race was only voiced by Süleymaniyeli Tevfik in the fourth issue of the journal:

Today ethnology shows us that Kurds, Armenians, Persians and Nasturis are all from the same race. Religion is the only difference between them and although ignorance created a deep hole, now it is time to fill it. Therefore these nations and elements are inseparable from each other.[338]

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[337]Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdler İrani Değil midir?, issue, 18, p, 6. Ibid. Ibid., 804. [Samî bir milletin Yafes ırkına mensub İranîlerle aynı kavmiyete mensub olabilmesi, onlarla inkâr edilemeyecek bir rabita-i karabete sahib bulunması, tarihin şimdiki telâkkîsiyle kabil-i telif değildir.]

[338] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn,* issue, 4, p,2. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 287. [Bugün etnoloji bize gösteriyor ki Kürd, Ermeni, Fürs, Nasturî bir ırktandır. Yalnız tahaluf-ı mezhebiye onların arasında, gavr-ı siyahında yalnız cehl-i körinan derin bir uçurum kazmış ise de, bunun akıl ile imlâsı zamanı çoktan hulul etmiştir. Binaenaleyh, nâkabil-i infikâk bir iştirak ile bu akvam ve unsur birdir.]

Süleymaniyeli Tevfik often took an active part in the discussions about origins and below he explains why he thinks the social constructions created by Kurds are more important then which race they come from:

In short, whether they are from the race of Qardu or Behram or Medens or Prophet Noah; what is left from the states built by this nation starting from Eyyubî State and carrying on with uncountable big and small states till 1262-65 (1845-48) is only a few feudatories in Bitlis, Hakkari and Bohtan plus a little state in Süleymaniye.[339]

It can be said that, the need of *Jîn* writers to discuss the Kurds ancientness, roots and whether they were autochthonous or not was born from the need of having a written Kurdish "national" history. *Kürt Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti (Kurdish Society for Spreading the Education and Publication)* was the cultural/ideological organisation of the time and below is how they expressed their plans of taking on this task:

One of the main aims of the organisation is to gather together and arrange the forgotten and disregarded "national history" of Kurdistan which has a long and honourable past that goes back to Assyrians, Medens, and Parts and goes through Arab, Turkish and Persian histories and of the Kurdish nation who established just governments who loved culture within the limits of their own traditions and customs when they were left alone by the tyranny caused by authority and military as well as some religious and political organisations.[340]

In the next subheading I will try to look at the opinions of Kurdish intellectuals about the ancientness and autochthonism of Kurdish people in the lands they inhabited and the reasons behind these opinions.

b. Claiming the Nation to be Ancient and Autochthonous

Kurd, Turk and Armenian nationalists all had sovereignty claims over the same geography during the armistice period. When Kurdish intellectuals were arguing with Armenian

[339]Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn,* issue, 7, p,2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384. [Velhasıl ister Karduxî, ister Behramî, ister Medyalı, ister Nuhî olsunlar, bu kavmin şimdiye kadar teşkil ettikleri Eyyubî devletinden bed'en hadd-ü hesaba gelmeyen müteaddid ve mütenevvi' büyük ve küçük hükümâtın tortusundan, son zamanda, yani takriben 1262 tarihlerinde Bitlis'te, Hakkâri'de, Bohtan'da birer derebeyliği, Süleymaniye'de de bir hükümet-i sağîre kalmıştı.]

[340] *Kürd Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti Beyannamesi, Jîn,* issue, 22, p, 11-12. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 955. [Asur salnamelerinde, Medya ve Part âbidelerinde, Arab, Türk ve bilhassa İran tarihlerinde medîd ve şerefnak bir hayat-ı tarihiyeye malik bulunan Kürdistan'ın, birtakım dinî ve siyasî müesseselerle, cebrî ve asken saltanatların tasallutundan masun kalabilmiş olduğu devrelerde kendi örf ve adatı ananât ve temayülâtı dairesinde âdil ve irfanperver hükümetler tesis eyleyen Kürd milletinin mühmel ve mensî kalmış "tarih-i millî"sını telfîk vesaitini ihzar eylemek dahi, cemiyetin makasıd-ı esasiyesi cümlesındendır.]

nationalism, they used population statistics against them, as the discourse of ancientness and autochthonism wouldn't have worked on nations who were ancient and autochthonous themselves of the same geography. The arguments of ancientness and autochthonism were directed more towards Turkish nationalists rather then being a discussion topic between Kurds and Armenians in the journal Jîn. In the book called *Kurds*, published in 1334 (1918) by *Aşair-i Muhacirin Müdiriyet-i Umumiyyesi* there were claims over the ancientness and autochthonism of Kurdish people. The book claimed that *Kurds* were from the same Ural-Altaic race as Turks and as they never lived together they never formed a government. It also claimed that the Kurdish language was a mixture of Arabic, Persian and Turkish. As it was mentioned in the section above, the claims in this book met a harsh backlash by the writers of *Jîn*. There were a lot of articles published in the nature of a response to the claims made in this book. Most of the articles in the journal *Jîn* about ancientness, roots and the autochthonism of Kurds were respondents towards Turkish nationalism.

According to Anthony D. Shmit, the myth of ancientness possesses nearly the same values as national liberation for the nationalist elite.[341] Kurdish elites who were aware of this used ancientness and autochthonism myths in order to establish legitimacy around their sovereignty claims. Qazizade Mistefa Şêwqî writes about the ancientness of Kurds in the fourth issue of the journal.

In this era either one would strive for life or die (if lazy). I would like to have a closer look at our situation and indicate that Kurdish nation is a talented and a patriotic nation from the begining of their existance until now which is four thousands years. Although some of their neighbouring nations like Asyrians and Babllions became extinct, Kurdish people survived becuase of their preseverance and now there is a "Kurdistan".[342]

[341] Hosking ve Schöpflin, *Myths and nationhood*, 41.

[342] Qazîzade M. Şewqî, *Weziyetî Ême Kurdan De Esrî Hazir,Jîn,* issue, 4, p, 15. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 281. [Lê le esrî hazir însan ya debê se'y bika bijî, yaxud ke tembel bû bimre. Ca be ew mulaheze, emin pêm xoş e kemêk ehwalî xoman temaşa bikem û meelmemnûnîye bibênim ke qewmî min,yanî Kurdan milletêk in, musteîdd û wetenperwer û daîma le binaxey tarîxyan heta wêsta ke çiwar hezar sal raburduwe-w degel ewey zor qewmî cîranyan weku Asûrî-wBabîlî-w saîre ke mehû bûn, û ewro kesyan lê nemawe; ewan be wasîtey ew hemîyet e ke heyan e, her man û hem weha man ke însan ewro detwanê bile "Kurdistan heye".]

By stating that the Babylonians and Assyrians all disappeared but Kurds stayed for four thousand years in the area and that's why this geography is called Kurdistan today, Qazizade Mistefa Şewqî tries to point to the fact that Kurds are an ancient "nation". Ancientness and autochthonism myths usually go hand in hand and we can see this in the journal *Jîn*. Yüzbaşı Emin Bey, who used the pen name of Kurdiyê Bitlîsî explains the fact that Kurds are an ancient and autochthonous nation in his article in the third issue of the journal:

> It would be fair to say that according to the historical accounts the time between the events that took place for Kurds to move to Kurdistan and today is around 4900 years. If 49 centuries belonging to Kurdish history is compared with the small amount of years that belongs to the history of the nations who try to claim sovereignty in this land, it would be necessary to comply in front of the ancientness of the date our nation moved to Kurdistan.[343]

As we mentioned before the armistice period was a kind of period that Kurd, Turk and Armenian nationalists all had sovereignty claims over the same geography. Like in the quotation above and generally by Kurdish intellectuals, the arguments of ancientness and autochthonism were directed more towards Turkish nationalists. It can be said that the quotation above was a response towards Turkish nationalism that claimed sovereignty over "Kurdistan" which was a land Kurds had been living in for 4900 years and by this response the sovereignty claims of Kurds tried to be legitimised based on their ancientness.

While there was a lot of emphasis on the fact of Kurds being an ancient and autochthonous "nation" of their own geographical area, it can be said that the conflicting Turkish nationalism was devoid of such arguments:

[343] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler Münasebetiyle, Jîn,* issue, 3, p, 3. Ibid., 261. [Kürdlerin bugünkü Kürdistanlılar olmadığı iddiasına karşı da, Kürdlerin Kürdistan'a gelmesini intaç eden vakayiin an-ı hudusü ile yaşadığımız asır arasında rivayât-ı tarihiyeye nazaran— 4900 sene gibi uzun bir fasıla-i zaman mürur ettiğini söylemek kâfidir. Bir kere, Kürd hayat-ı tarihiyesine aid şu 49 asır, bir de bugünkü akvamın iddia-i hakimiyetle benimsedikleri veya benimsemek istedikleri manatık-ı arze mebde-i intikallerinin saydığı seneler adedinin küçüklüğü insafla mukayese edilirse, milletimizin Kürdistan'a, —oraları bizden evvel başka bir kavimle meşgul olsa bile— vürudü tarihinin azamet-i kıdemi önünde hicabla serfürû olunmak lâzım gelir.]

"Before the Iranian migration, there was a pure Ural-Altaic race living in today's land of Kurd's. They stayed where they were despite the Iranian invasion. They didn't show instability and immediately leave their fatherland to became nomads like Turks did".[344]

It can be seen that Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, who often wrote about the origins and the history of Kurds was aware of which areas Turkish nationalism was having conflicts in. In his writing he usually stressed the fact that Turks weren't an ancient population of this geography as well as the fact that they weren't the autochthonous population either as he mentioned in the quotation above.

One of the prominent delegates of Kurdish nationalism during the 19th century was Haci Qadirê Koyî and he often stressed the fact that Kurds were an ancient and an autochthonous "nation" in his poems. In his poem below, he takes the roots of Kurds to Prophet Noah and he expresses his thoughts on Kurds living in their own land since then:

The day the storm rolled in the whole world by God's will
Not a single creature remained in the world, except those which made it into Noah's arch
As promised the arch landed safely on top of Mount Judi
And his (Noah) three sons made it their home, and turned it to a pleasant garden
This courageous island is the first inhabidted place in the world
Their true decendants, it is proved, are Kurds who reside in their ancestor's home [345]

One of the important writers of the journal, Süleymaniyeli Tevfik expresses below how he shares the same thoughts with Haci Qadirê Koyî in the seventh issue of the journal:

The deceased goes like this: "Seeing that Noah's ark stayed in Mount Cudî and the Kurds kept their existence around this area since that time, that means the Kurds decided their real homeland since the flood."[346]

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[344] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir?, Jîn,* issue, 18, p, 7.Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 804.
["Kürdlerin bugünkü vatanı, mühaceret-i İraniyeden evvel hâlis bir unsur-ı Turanî ile meskûn idi. İstilâ-i İraniye rağmen onlar yerlerinde oturdu; şimdi ki Türk'ün yaptığı gibi, sebatsızlık ederek hemen baba yurdunu terk ile muhacir olmadı".]
[345] Hacî Ebdulqadir, *Asâr-ı Eslafdan, Jîn*, issue, 5, p, 12. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 306
[Ew roje be emrî Heyyî Mennan, Em aleme pakî bû be tofan,Deyyarî nema le cinsî zîrûh
Xeyrî emîj hate keştîyî Nûh, Ew rojey geyîşte weqtî ma'hûd, Westawe le ser çîyayekey Cûd
Hersê kur'î kirdyane mesken, Ew cê û mekane mîslî gulşen, Êstake Cezîrey bê muhaba
Ma'mûreyî ewwel e le dinya, Ewladî sehîhyan be burhan, Kurd in le mekanî ceddî xoyan]

The Kurdish intellectuals of the period often tried to stress the ancientness of Kurds and they tried to create a sense of common belonging through glorifying historical Kurdish figures. In the next subheading I will try to trace the glorified past and Kurdish personalities.

c. The Glorification of the Past and Myths

We can always come across Kurds when we shuffle some pages of history. Kurds also had a history of their own. They also were and still are proud of their ancestor's epic victories. When you look with the eyes that see far, you can see a Kurdish history full of bravery and virtue.[347]

Anthony D. Smith, states that for nationalists, a 'golden age' of communal splendour, with its sages, saints and heroes, … "is" … the era in which the community achieved its classical form, and bequeathed a legacy of glorious memories and cultural achievements. [348]

I am shouting out loud to you, Kurdish nation! You, who howls as getting squeezed under thousands of nasty quotations. You have a history, a history that glows enormously and gloriously like an afternoon sun over every nation! Don't be fooled by the treacherous enemies who make it their job to deceive and distort reality, just look at the past! You will see that the history that carries great honor and glory, reminiscent of the glorious past is your history. The poor child of the only nation on earth who didn't experience slavery! Shake yourself up and look at the situation now![349]

It can be seen that Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the importance of history in building a national awareness. We can see traces of this awareness starting from the *Kürdistan* newspaper, which was the beginning of the history of the Kurdish press, coming all the way to the journal Jîn. We always come across writings about the Kurdish history and biographies of important Kurdish personalities as an important subject. Abdullah Cevdet who was an

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[346] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384.

[347] Şîlanlızade Eyüb Sabri, *Kürdler Tarihi Bir Milletdir, Jîn,* issue, 18, p, 9.Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 806. Tarihin sahifeleri karıştırılacak olursa, milel-i muhtelife arasında mutlaka Kürdlere de tesadüf olunur. Kürdler de kendilerine göre bir devr-i tarihî geçirmişlerdir; Kürdler de ecdadının destan-ı zaferleriyle hayli müddet iftihar etmişler ve bugün de etmektedirler. Dûrbîn bir nazarla bakılırsa, fazilet ve hamasetlerle dolu bir Kürd tarihi görülür.

[348] Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 191.

[349] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdler İrani Değil midir?, Jîn,* issue, 19, p, 7. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 840–841. [Avaz-ı bülend ile sana bağırıyorum, ey bin türlü garezkâr menkulâtın ağır ithamları altında ezilen, inleyen Kürd milleti! Senin bir tarihin, her milletin fevkında, bir öğle güneşi şa'şaasıyle parlayan muazzam ve muhteşem bir tarihin var! Hain ve ihanetkâr düşmanların kustuğu çirkâb-ı dalal-ü iğfale aldanma, biraz geriye bak! Göreceksin ki en muhteşem mazileri hatırlatan, en büyük şan-ü şerefi taşıyan tarih, senindir! Kubbe-i sema altında lezzet-i esareti tatmamış yegâne milletin miskin evlâdı! Bir parça silkin, biraz hale nazar et!]

important Kurdish intellectual of the late Ottoman period expresses his views on writing Kurdish history in the first issue of the *Rojî Kurd* Journal:

> Is there a history of Kurds? With a "Şerefname" a nation cannot save and protect its honor of the history or its historical honor. The century in which we live, seriously, is the twentieth century. A nation that does not have its past and future history does not belong to itself either. Nations or the persons who do not possess themselves are condemned to be slaves; they belong to others. (...)[350]

On the third issue of the same journal, M. Salih Bedirxan repeats the same questions asked by Abdullah Cevdet above and he complains about the fact that there is no written history of the Kurdish "nation" who produced personalities like Şeyh-ül islam Ebu Suud, Melayê Cizîrî, Molla Gorani, Herîrî, Nalî, Ehmedê Xanî, Hacî Qadirê Koyî and Şêx Rıza so these people aren't known.[351] In the end of his article he also mentioned that although the whole world knows Sultan Selahattin Eyyubi and he was Kurdish, he wasn't known because there was no written Kurdish history.[352] Parallel to M. Salih Bedirxan's concerns, we come across biographies of Selahattin Eyyubi in Kürdistan and *Jîn* Journals. Abdurrahman Bedirxan points out that Selahattin Eyyubi was Kurdish in the biography he wrote of him that was published in the fifth issue of the *Kürdistan Newspaper* and he continues:

> Virtue and perfection and courage and enthusiasm of Selahedin Eyubi affected the Muslim and non-Muslim people so much that they still adore him. Even a few months ago when the King of German was in Damascus, he visited Selahaddin's grave and he gave a speech about his greatness.[353]

Another publication we come across Selahattin Eyyubi's biography is the *Rojî Kurd* Journal, which was the publication of *KTHC* in 1913. This biography was published as a series in the second and third issues of the journal. On the cover of the first journal there was a photo of Selahattin Eyyubi and the photo of Kerim Han Zend on the third issue. One of them was the

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[350] *Rojî Kurd*, 99.
[351] Ibid., 175.
[352] Ibid., 191.
[353] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 300.
[Fedl û kemal û şecaet û hîmmeta Selahedînê Eyûbî, hew qas neyarên xwe jî heyran dibî, ku heta îro hemî alem, Musulman ne Musulman, senakarên wî (pesindarên wî) ne. Heta, berî çend heyvekê weqta ku Padîşahê Almanyayê çû Stenbolê û Şamê çû li ser tirba Selahedîn, wê dere xutbeyek (gotarek) der meqamê mezinatiya Selahedîn îrad kir.(di heqê mezinyetiya Selahedîn de got)]

founder of the Eyyubi State and the other, the founder of Zend Emirates, which had reigned in Iran. Surely the decision of using these historical figures on the covers was a conscious one. As a matter of fact, Kerküklü Necmeddin expresses his opinion about the importance of writing the biographies of historical figures in the first issue of *Hetawî Kurd*, which was another publication of *KTHC*:

Kurds must be notified about valuable people they have raised in order to awaken. Personally, I would wish we at least wrote the biographies of the well-known people the Kurdish nation raised.[354]

It can be said that the concept of awakening Kerküklü Necmeddin uses is used synonymously with national awareness. As we can see this by reading the rest of his writing:

Biographies teach citizens to love their nation and the people their nation raised and they also put the idea of nationality deep in to the souls of the population. The intellectuals who honour the nation with their bodies introduce artists and writers who express national feelings in their work. They teach us to obey the traditions and morals of the past. As much as being educated, a person must possess feelings of devoting oneself to the nation.[355]

Nationalist intellectuals aim at mobilising masses equipped with the national feeling. We can see this in the sentiment Kerküklü Necmeddin expresses about wanting a new generation who devotes themselves to their nation. Later in his writing, he uses the west as an example of how nationalism grows and flourishes:

There must be biographies that give beautiful feelings of geniuses that the nation raises. National morals get cleared like this. This is what binds Europeans to their nation. National traditions are kept like this, as there is no other way. Works Europeans create about people who served their nation is really worth studying.[356]

We can say that, starting from the *Kürdistan Newspaper*, which was the first publication of the Kurdish press, all the way to the journal *Jîn*, historical figures were used in order to create a national awareness. Although we come across many historical figures until *Jîn*, the person that was discussed the most was Selahattin Eyyubi. We can talk about two main subjects that jump out about Selahattin Eyyubi's identity. The first one is his Kurdish identity as an ethnic

[354] Kerküklü Necmeddin, «Puşide-i Tarih», *Hetaw-i Kürd*, sayı 1 (Teşrin-ievvel 1329): 15–16.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid.

group he belongs to and the second one is his Islamic identity as a great statesman and a commander. Both of these identities were simultaneously discussed in the journals and newspapers that were published until the armistice period. Şükrü Hanioğlu writes about the way Young Turks who were opposing Abdülhamit II were referencing Islamic sayings in order to gain acceptance in the society. It can be said that the Kurdish intellectuals developed this discourse as a result of pan Islamic government policies that became dominant after the period of Abdülhamit II. Therefore, referring to both the Islamic and Kurdish identities of Selahattin, he was in tune with the period's political and sociological realities. In addition, it can be said that the "golden era" Kurdish intellectuals were looking for was embodied in Selahattin Eyyubi's personality.

Selahattin Eyyubi was one of the historical figures that were discussed *in Kurdistan* and *Jîn* Journals. But we can see that in *Jîn* Journal he wasn't only portrayed as an Islamic Kurdish figure who served his nation greatly but instead he was portrayed as the emperor of the golden era Kurds lived through:

Probably the brightest period for the Kurdish nation was XII Century AC. In this period Great Salahaddin Suriye Eyyubî who came from the Rawendi section of Hadabani Tribe formed his sultanate and he not only created Kurdish beylics in the east and west of the mountains of Kurdistan but also spread all around Horasan, Egypt and Yemen. [357]

As we can see from the above quotation from Mehmed Sakin's article, the state formed by Selahattin Eyyubi is referred to as the brightest Kurdish period. In a similar manner, Abdülaziz Yamulki's article in the fifth issue of the journal mentions Selahattin Eyyubi as a well-known leader and the period he lived in as the "golden era" of Kurds:

Although they had a chance to relax during the period of Sultan Salahaddin-i Eyyubî, the well-known leader of Kurds and all Muslims, this period didn't last for long. While they were being invaded for many times, they didn't let their mind become immobile and they didn't let their thoughts become inefficient and with all their

[357] Mehmed Sakin, *Kürdistan Tarihi, Jîn,* issue, 12, p, 3. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 557. [Kürd hükümetinin en parlak devri, ihtimal ki on ikinci asr-ı Milâdî içindedir ki bu devirde Hadabanî aşiretinin Rawendî şubesine mensub Büyük Salahaddin, Suriye Eyyubî Saltanatını kurmuş ve yalnız Kürdistan dağlarının şark ve garbında değil, bir taraftan Horasan'da ve diğer taraftan da Mısır ve Yemen'de Kürd imaretleri tesis etmiş idi.]

ambition and power, Kurds preserved their nationality, their traditions, powers to know right from wrong, their capacity to think and their pure emotions.[358]

In the quotation above, Abdülaziz Yamulki describes the period of Selahattin Eyyubi as the Kurd's "golden era" and he describes Kurds as a nation who managed to keep their traditions and their ethnic belonging despite all the invasions they went through.

Again in the tenth issue of the journal Selahattin Eyyubi was depicted as a leader who left immortal works behind in the introduction section of the biography of Mevlana Halid written by M. Nejad Tevfik. [359]

As we mentioned before, what made the journal *Jîn* different from the previous Kurdish journals and newspapers was publishing the translations of western articles written about Kurds. In the 13th issue of the journal called Kurds are a Historical Nation, Şilanlızade Yusuf Sabri writes about Kurds and Selahattin Eyyubi as below:

Historical "Fastes de la Nation Kourde" which is an important work about Kurds says: Kurds who have been said to exist from the period of "Harun-ür reşid are known with their natural courage and bravery. Their heroes like Sultan Salahaddin-i Eyyubî and El-Melik El-Âdil are as well known as the European heroes like Philippe Auguste and Richard with their conquests and just actions. Salahaddin, who comes from the city called Dwîn by the Acem border gave a real radiance to Kurdish history"[360]

In the quotation above, Selahattin Eyyubi was compared to his European contemporaries about having as much fame as they have. In addition his period was said to give a real radiance to Kurdish history, making it live its "golden era". Selahattin Eyyubi wasn't the only historical figure that was discussed in *Jîn*. Ehmedê Xanî who was the writer of the book called

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[358] Kürd Genclerinden Yamulkizade, *Kürdler Ne idi, Neler İster, Jîn, issue, 5, p, 2-3.*Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 315. [Her ne kadar Kürdlerin ve bütün ehl-i İslâmın benam serdarı olan Sultan Salahaddin-i Eyyubî zamanında oldukça nefes almış iseler de bu hal çok sürmemiştir. Kürdlerin uğradıkları bu birçok istilâlarda ise akıllarını atalete, fikirlerini akamete sevketmeyerek bütün azimleriyle, bütün kuvvetleriyle milliyetlerini, ananelerini, hissiyât-ı necîbelerini, kudret-i fikriyelerini, kuwe-i mümeyyizelerini muhafaza etmişlerdir.]

[359] Süleymaniyeli M. Nejad Tevfik, *Hazreti Mevlana Halid, Jîn*, issue, 10, p, 1-2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, Jîn 1985, 477. [Although the Kurdish nation who's existence was firm even in pre-historic times had so many empires and emperors that would probably fill volumes, no emperor left immortal works the way Salahaddin-i Eyyubî did.]

[360] Şilanlızade Yusuf Sabri, *Kürdler Tarihi Bir Milletdir, Jîn,* issue, 13, p, 4. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 588. [Kürdler hakkında mühim ve telifi ihtiva eyleyen tarihi "Fastes de la Nation Kourde", "Harunürreşid zamanında mevcudiyetlerini irae eyledikleri mervî olan Kürdler şecaat, hamasetleriyle temayüz etmişlerdir; tarihte Philippe Auguste, Richard. . .ilh. Avrupa kahramanları derecesinde nam bırakan Sultan Yusuf Salahaddin ibni Eyyub ve El-Melik El-AdiFin fütuhat ve icraât-ı âdilâneleriyle iştihar etmişlerdir. Sülâlesinin menşei Acem hududunda kâin Dwîn şehri olan Salahaddin, Kürd tarihine hakikî bir revnak vermiştir" söylüyor.]

Mem û Zîn that was published by *KTMNC* in 1919, İstanbul was also one of the historical figures that were discussed in the journal. The owner and the concession manager of *Jîn* who also wrote the preface for Mem û Zîn, Müküslü Hamza, writes this about Ehmedê Xanî in the 19th issue of the journal:

Xani wrote in 1695. He was a religious, genius person. He was prospering at theology and he was a patriot as Firdewsi. He was born in 1695.[361]

In the quotation above Müküslü Hamza compares Ehmedê Xanî's patriotism to Firdewsi.

Below he writes about Firdewsi creating Iran with his pen and Ehmedê Xanî saving Kurdistan from disappearing with his pen.

There is no clear information about his life, but it is known from his pieces that Ehemdê Xanî worked for his nation just like Firdewsî, he was devoted to his nation. His pieces are very precious in Kurdistan. Everybody mentions him with respect. However he could not catch up with Firdewsi in terms of efficiency. Firdewsî brought Iran to life with his pen. Ehmedê Xani did not let Kurdistan die, he awoke Kurdistan, but he did not revive it. Because Firdewsi's time was compatible with his idea, but the time that Ehmedê Xanî lived was awful and hard. Ottoman State and Iran's government splited Kurdistan up among themselves.[362]

Another important historical figure that was discussed in the journal Jîn was Şerefxanê Bitlîsî. In the 18th issue of the journal Şilanlızade Eyüp Sabri writes about Şerefxanê Bitlîsî:

Who can deny the fact that Şeref Han thoroughly introduced Kurdish history to French, German and English people! He is one of the most precious Kurdish individuals that is worth being proud of and also French agreed upon his excellence and called him "Cheref-on, dine, Prince de Bidlis"[363]

Nationalist intellectuals use the "golden era" myth sometimes about historical characters and sometimes about referencing the times when their nation was independent and autonomous.

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[361] Hemzeyê Miksî, *Dibace, Jîn, issue 19,* p. 13 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 825. [Xanî di "1105" da nivîsîye Zatekî mutteqî, mütedeyyin, xwey dehaekê bilind, di ulûmê dînîye, hîkmîye, edebîye da sahibê qudretekê temam, di mîllîyetperwerîyê da wek Fîrdewsî bûye. Di "1061" da hatîye dinyayê.]

[362] Hemzeyê Miksî, Dibace, Jîn, issue 19, p. 13 ibid. [Tarîxa heyata wî gerçi muntezemen ne malûm e, emma ji asarê wî tête zanîn ku Ehmedê Xanî, wek Fîrdewsî jibo mîllîyeta xwe xebitîye, temamê mewcûdîyeta xwe di wê rê da serf kirîye. Asarê Ehmedê Xanî di Kurdistanê da xayet mu'teber in. Her kesek bi ihtiram navê wî zikir diket. Feqet dereca te'sîrê da negîhaye Fîrdewsî. Çunkî Fîrdewsî bi qelema xwe îran vejand. Ehmedê Xanî nehîşt ku Kurdistan temam bimirit; ji mewta ebedî xilas kir, emma temam îhya nekir. Çunkî zemanê Fîrdewsî jibo fikra wî musaid bû; zemanê Ehmedê Xanî xayet berbad û çetin bû. Dewleta Osmanî digel hukumeta îranê muttefîqen Kurdistan di mabeyna xwe da teqsîm kiri-bûn; dest û pîyê wan wisa girêdabûn ku nedikarîn xwe bihejînin. Çunkî maddeten bi her terefan da çawan esker sewqê li ser wan dikirin, bi enwaê hile û desîsan îxtîlaf û şîqaq êxistibûne nav Kurdan.]

[363] Eyüb Sabri Şilanlızade, Kürdler Tarihi Bir Milletdir, Jîn, issue, 13, p, 5-6 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 589. [Hele Fransızlarca mezayası, Kürdlerin iftihara şayan en kıymetdar bir uzvu olduğu takdirde itiraf olunan Şeref Han'ın —ki Fransızlar "Cheref-on, dine, Prince de Bidlis" tesmiye ederler Kürd tarihini Fransızlara, Almanlara, İngilizlere bihakkın tanıttığını kim inkâr edebilir.]

We know that in the first half of the 19th century, Kurds were attached to the Ottoman Empire with semi-independent Emirates. Therefore the longing intellectuals have towards these times when they were semi-independent can be interpreted by the way they refer to it as the golden era of Kurds. We come across this term in the *newspaper Kürdistan* for the first time. Abdurrahman Bedirxan created a series about the history of Cezire and Botan Emirates in *Kürdistan Newspaper*, which started in the eighth issue and ended in the 13th. In the beginning of the series Bedirxan states that he will write about Kürdistan and Ezizan families.[364]

As he was a member of the Ezizan family himself he wrote about the history of this family all along the six parts of the series. In the 13th issue where Abdurrahman Bedirxan writes about the period of Bedirxan Bey, the last Emirate of Cezire and Bohtan who was also his father:

> At that time Kurdistan was looted by the officers of the government. Those who did not give bribes were taken to the prison. When Bedirxan Beg returned from Nizîb War, Kurdistan was in this situation. It was in a miserable situation because of the government's officers. However, when Bedirxan Beg settled down, rescued all the tribes from the officers' cruelty. He did not let the officers to rule the people he is responsible for and he leaded his people in fair.[365]

It was stated that during the Bedirxan Bey period justice was established and no Ottoman officer could maltreat the people that belonged to the area Bedirxan Bey ruled. The *Newspaper Kürdistan* was published during a period when the relationships between the Kurds and the Armenians were difficult because of the Hamidiye Cavalry. Abdurrahman Bedirxan wrote articles about how cruelty was exercised by Kurds from the Hamidiye Cavalry towards Armenians and Kurds who didn't belong to the Hamidiye Cavalry. Therefore mentioning the fact that there was justice in Kurdistan during the Bedirxan Bey period gives Abdurrahman Bedirxan an opportunity to call that period a golden era and it also ensures legitimacy over the claims his family has on that land.

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[364] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 213.

[365] Ibid., 264. [Wî zemanî Kurdistan nav deste me'mûrên hukumatê talan dibî. Me'mûr hemî çavên xwe ser emvalên Kurda vekiribîn; heçiyê rişwet nedida me'mûra, bi îftirakê nefî û hebs dibî. Weqta ku Bedirxan Beg ji şerê Nizîbê ewdet kir, Kurdistan vî halî de bî; yanî deste zelemeê me'mûra perişan dibî. Lakîn weqta ku Badirxan Beg cihê xwe rûnişt, çi qas qebail û eşairên bine deste wî hebîn, ji wê zulma me'mûra xilas kir; nehişt tu me'mûr li ser efradên bin destê wî tu nüfuza îcra bikin û bi edalet eşairên xwe îdare kir.]

Although we don't come across articles describing the period of semi-independent emirates in the armistice period Kurdish newspapers and journals, we can come across sentences that express longing for those times between the lines. In the fourth issue of *Rojî Kurd* Journal, Xelîl Xeyalî addresses the Kurdish sultans and emirates in his article titled 'to Kurdish elders'[366]In this article, Xeyalî expresses his longing for the Kurdish rulers and emirates and complains about how the geographical area where science and knowledge were flourishing with new madrasas during the times of the Kurdish rulers and emirates was now a home for abandoned people. He also underlined this period as the golden era of Kurds and expressed his longing for this period.

When we look at our research subject, *Jîn* Journal, we can see that the Selahattin Eyyubi period was known as the golden era. We can also see that apart from the Selahattin Eyyubi period both the Bitlis Khanate and Baban Emirates were also seen as the golden eras the writers of the journal *Jîn* longed for. In the seventh issue of the journal, Süleymeniyeli Tevfik writes about the emirates and states Kurds formed:

> In short, whether they are from the race of Qardu or Behram or Medens or Prophet Noah; what is left from the states built by this nation starting from the Eyyubî State and carrying on with uncountable big and small states till 1262-65 (1845-48) is only a few feudatories in Bitlis, Hakkari and Bohtan plus a little state in Süleymaniye.[367]

Apart from the quotation above which mentions the Cezire and Bohtan Emirates, we hardly come across any other writings about these emirates in other issues of the journal. This seems interesting when we think about the role Bedirxan Paşazade's family played in Kurdish modernisation as the family who made out the Emirates and the role they played in Kurdish

[366] Xelîl Xeyalî, *Ji Mezinên «Kurdan» ra, Rojî Kurd 1913*, 222. [Li ku ye Al[î] Eyûb û Merwanê Kurdî Al[î] Wexnaz le ku ye Walî[yê] Senendic û begzade[yê] Rewandiz le ku ye? Mîr[ê] Cezîr û Botanêd wan li ku ye? Hakim[ê] Soran û Baban ser[ê] xwe hilînin hal[ê] Kurdan bibînin çawan in le dest kafir[ê] dewr[ê] li îman û welat[ê] ku we bi mal[ê] xwe bi can[ê] xwe xudanî lê dikir û di riya mislimanî da we xunan diret, medresan vedikir, îro bê xweyî maye.]

[367] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn,* issue, 7, p, 2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384. [Velhasıl ister Karduxî, ister Behramî, ister Medyalı, ister Nuhî olsunlar, bu kavmin şimdiye kadar teşkil ettikleri Eyyubî devletinden bed'en hadd-ü hesaba gelmeyen müteaddid ve mütenevvi' büyük ve küçük hükümâtın tortusundan, son zamanda, yani takriben 1262 tarihlerinde Bitlis'te, Hakkâri'de, Bohtan'da birer derebeyliği, Süleymaniye'de de bir hükümet-i sağîre kalmıştı.]

nationalist movement during the armistice period. [368] It can be said that instead of Cezire and Bohtan Emirate, we can often see articles about the periods of Bitlis Khanate and Süleymaniye centred Baban Emirate. A poem about the period of Baban Emirate by one of the important Kurdish poets, Şêx Rıza Talebanî who lived between 1837 and 1910[369] was published in the 25th issue of the Journal *Jîn*. Şêx Rıza Talebanî describes that period as:

I remember Sulaimani when it was the Capital of the Babans; It was neither subject to the Persians nor slave-driven by the House of Usman.
Before the palace gate Shaikhs, Mullas ad Ascetics stood in line; The place of pilgrimage for those with bussiness was the Gird-i-Seywan
Before the King's court stood soldiers and troops; The sound of music and kettledrums was reached the heavens
Alas! Those days, that era, that time; When jereed was in the lowland Kani Askan[370]

In the verse above, the period of Baban Emirate is described as a period when the emirate didn't need anybody and had a strong military foundation. We can see that the poet expresses a longing for those times in the last part of it. Süleymaniyeli Tevfik is one of the other writers who see the period of Baban Emirate as a "golden era". He describes Baban Emirate as an emirate, which had a place in eastern and western history with their legends of bravery and heroism.[371]

Süleymaniyeli Tevfik sees complacency of Iranian and Ottoman governments as a reason for not creating a written history of such a heroic emirate. During the Constitution Era Needing a

[368] Yener Koç ve Graduate Program in History, *Bedirxan Pashazades: power relations and nationalism (1876-1914)*, 2012, 181.
[369] *Dîwanî Şêx Reza Talebanî*, Umêd Aşna, Şêx Mehmûdê Xal ,Hewlêr: Aras Publisher, 2003, 28.
[370] Şex Rıza Telebanî, Jîn, issue, 25, p, 13-14. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 1060.
[371] Süleymaniyeli Tevfik, *Jîn Mecmuası Vasıtasıyla Kurdiyê Bitlîsî Kardeşime, Jîn,* issue, 7, p, 3. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 384. [According to my research, the Baban Emirate existed first as a tribe then became independent and then at one point it was annexed with a special request but still kept it's independence for more then 250 years. The fact that there are no consistent records in history of its founding, rising, developing, stagnating, declining and falling periods was because at that time Iran was going through historical and literary decline and also the Ottomans joined later they didn't and still don't own history. I heard the epic stories about this state that can be found in many pages of eastern and western history books, the legends of bravery that whispers wonders, generosity and heroism, legends that became fairy tales, their strength similar to mythology all from what was passed down to me from my ancestors and I memorised all the characters in these stories as well as the time and space.]

written Kurdish history was one of the common topics of the Kurdish journals and during the armistice period it was described below as one of the two factors that was necessary in order become one of the commonwealth countries:

> We shouldn't forget that it could only be possible to join the commonwealth countries with a written history in one and a national dictionary in the other.[372]

Therefore we can say that having a written Kurdish history was one of the most important and pressing topics between the Kurdish intellectuals of that period. Baban Emirate, which Süleymaniyeli Tevfik saw as the golden era, could be one example of the need to have a written history. Abdülaziz Yamulki wrote about the history of the Baban Emirate as a five part series starting from the ninth issue of the journal and ending in the 18th issue. As mentioned before, in this series Abdülaziz Yamulki stresses the fact that Kurds were an Iranian race and he responds to the Kurds book, which claimed this emirate to be Turkish as being Turkist and Turanist.[373] In his writings about the Baban Emirate, Abdülaziz Yamulki describes the period of Mîr Osman as:

> During his reign, Mîr Osman conquered Bane and Serdeşt from Erdelen oğulları and enlarged his frontiers. To secure the future of his sovereignty, he started to prepare and put in to effect certain regulations and procedures while establishing several charitable organisations and building mosques. Due to his fair practices, many people spontaneously went under his influence and made his state stronger.[374]

In the quotation above, this period comes across as a period dominated with justice and law. Another writer of the journal who sees this period as the golden era for Kurds was Emin Feyzi who came from Süleymaniye and who had a military background. He describes the period of this emirate in the 23rd issue of the journal as:

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[372] *Necmeddin Bey'e Cevabımız, Jîn*, issue, 3, p, 10-11. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 265. [Şunu da unutmayalım ki, cemiyetgâh-ı milele bir elde tarih, diğerinde kamus-ı millî bulunduğu halde girilebilir. Oraya duhulün varaka-i hüviyeti yalnız bunlardır.]

[373] Yamulkizade Aziz, *Kürd Tarihinden Baban Hanedanı, Jîn*, issue, 9, p, 2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 444–445.

[374] Yamulkizade Aziz, *Kürd Tarihinden Baban Hanedanı, Jîn*, issue, 9, p, 3. Ibid., 445. [Mîr Mustafa'dan sonra mahdumu Mîr Osman re's-i idareye geçmiş ve "Mawet"i zabt ile makarr-ı idaresini oraya nakletmiştir. Mîr Osman, zaman-ı hükümetinde "Bane" ve "Serdeşt" memleket ve nevahîsini Benî Erdelanlardan kamilen zabt ve tasarrufuna geçirmiş ve hududunu bu suretle büyüttükten sonra hakimiyetinin atîsini temin için birtakım nizamname ve usuller vaz'ına başlamış; birçok imaretler inşa, mescidler bina ettirmiştir. Adaletkârane icraat ve harekâtından dolayı birçok kesan kendiliklerinden havza-i hükümetine dahil olarak, nüfus ve kudretini gittikçe tezyid etmişlerdir.]

The zealous biceps of the Baban Kurds were like a brave mace and their chests were full of national feeling and vigor used as a guard against any intimidation. They were one of those people who never cut short of their heroism and affords during wars. It can be said that Süleymaniye and other places under the reign of Baban rulers took the form of unbeatable fortification against attacks from the east for 600 years.[375]

Later in his writing Emin Feyzi criticises how the emirate lost it's power as part of the Ottoman centralisation policy and how Süleymaniye and the surrounding area was prosperous compared to the present situation. In addition to that, he also stressed that the emirate period was much better in terms of military and economical perspectives.[376]

When we look at nationalism as a discourse, we can say that collective identity tries to be built by the nationalist elite through glorifying the past as well as creating a longing for it. The period, which is longed for or glorified, would usually be referred to as the "golden era". The golden era myth can sometimes be built on a hero or a state and sometimes it can be built on architectural buildings. In the 6th issue of the journal, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî writes about to whom Bitlis belongs and who were the builders of these constructions:

The architectural constructions like mosques, madrasas and mausoleums in Bitlis town all belong to Bitlis Khanate and they possess different qualities then Turkish and Arabic architectural styles.[377]

The quotation above can tell us that Kurdiyê Bitlîsi was trying point out to who Bitlis belonged through the architectural constructions of the town. Another writer's of *Jîn*, Yusuf Ziya mentions that Bitlis Khanate had a unique architectural style of its own and it left many artefacts behind.

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[375] Emin Feyzi, *Baban Kürdlerinde Kabiliyet-i Harbiye, Jîn,* issue, 9, p, 5. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 988. [Baban Kürdlerinin bazu-i himmetleri birer gürz-i şecaat, sine-i hamiyetleri birer siper-i satvettir. Bunlar bulundukları muharebâtın hiç birinde icab-ı gayret ve besaleti îfada kusur etmemiş olan akvamın birincilerindendir. Denilebilir ki Baban paşalarının zîr-i hükmünde bulunmuş olan Süleymaniye ve tabi mülhakatı, altı yüz seneden beri mühacemât-ı şarkiyeye karşı yıkılmak bilmez bir istihkâm mesabesinde idi.]

[376] Emin Feyzi, *Baban Kürdlerinde Kabiliyet-i Harbiye, Jîn,* issue, 9, p, 6. İbid, 989 [Another issue that is worth thinking about is the level of prosperity that was created by the local ruling in Süleymaniye. At the time, landowners and rulers benefiting from their estates was under guarantee, while a major military power was looked after well, meeting all their needs. Furthermore saving 5000 pennies a day from the access income preserved the yearly tradition of sending an important amount of money to Baghdad.}(s23 s6-7)(Bozarslan 989)

[377] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdistan'daki Şehir Sekeneleri Türk müdür?, Jîn,* issue, 6, p, 9. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 357. [Bitlis kasabası dahilindeki camiler, medreseler, türbeler. . .ilh. gibi mebani, kamilen Biltis hakimlerine aid olup, usul-ı mimarîlerinde de Türk ve Arab tarzı haricinde hususiyetlere maliktirler.]

Furthermore the khanate left a memory of honor and culture greater then any place in Kurdistan or anywhere else similar. Kelhokî Mihemed Axa's life is a good example of the love and devotion between the Tribe and Khanate families. The mosques, madrasas, taverns, caravanserais, bridges, mausoleums, and bathhouses are examples of the honour and culture that was left behind by the khanate. Travellers and historians of the time as well as the elders who had a chance to catch the last glimpses of the khanate can't stop mentioning the greatness of the artefacts left behind by the khanate.[378]

As we can see from the examples above, the Jîn Journal writers tried to construct a "golden era" myth through historical figures and semi-independent emirates. By emphasizing the importance of history, the references to the golden days of the past both via prominent persons, states or emirates, Kurdish intellectuals aimed for the emergence of the self-consciousness of the Kurdish people. The treatment of the 'historical figures,' and the 'golden ages' with their states and dynasties can also be seen as an important point in the legitimacy of 'being a nation' since in this way the nation is defined in terms of being an antique one. During the formation periods of nationalist movements, another discourse referenced by nationalist intellectuals apart from the "golden era" myth is the invention of traditions, which I will go through in the next section.

d. Invention of Traditions

According to Hobsbawm, ancient materials are used to construct invented traditions of a novel type for novel purposes. [379] It can be said that, the novel purpose Hobsbawm is pointing at can be Kurdish nation building for *Jîn* Journal writers. The Dehak legend can be seen as the antique material Kurdish intellectuals used to archive this novel purpose during the armistice period. As it was mentioned in the section about origins, *Jîn* Journal writers stressed the fact that Kurds origins were Iranian based on this legend. In the articles, which stressed this point, national holidays Kurds celebrated were shown as an example that separated Kurds from

[378] Yusuf Ziya, Mehemed Axayê Kelhokî, Jîn, issue, 25, p, 17. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 1062. ["Kelhokî Mihemed Axa"nın hayat-ı güzeştesi parlak bir misaldir. Hanlığın hatıra-i irfan ve şerefi ise, bugün bile enkazına Bitlis'te ve civarında yer yer tesadüf edilen üslub-ı mahallî ile inşa edilmiş camiler, medreseler, hanlar, kârvansaraylar, köprüler, türbeler, mezarlıklar, hamamlar şahid-i kavî oldukları gibi, o vakit seyyahları, müverrihleri ve Hanlığın son zamanlarını idrak etmiş ihtiyarlar bile, Hanlığın measir-i medeniyesini tahsin ve takdirlerle tizkâr ede ede bitiremiyorlar.]

[379] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, ed, *The Invention of tradition*, First paperback edition, Past and present publications (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 12–13.

other “nations”. In the 16th issue of the journal the following expressions were used to describe what kind of role National Holidays played in the construction of collective identity:

The main important thing for the nations is the “special national days”. There are stages and stepping-stones in the national life. All the joy and pain of the past, sweet and sour national memories, historical events and lives of ancestors come to mind; a new surge of power comes through to not have the painful days repeated and to live amidst happy days. Special days are days of joy. To have fun, to rejoice and to laugh together is the right of a nation as much as a duty. These days give an opportunity to nations to understand themselves. In “national days”, citizens who work and worry about daily things on other days achieve a great connection with the honorable national identity. In those important days that national rights are demanded, the “national soul” becomes apparent and kind of passes an exam[380]

We can see that the quotations above refer to common past and memory, which are one of the main elements that make up a “nation”. Therefore we can say that writers of the *Jîn* Journal were aware of the role of common past and memory during the nation building process. One of the tools that are used by nationalist intellectuals to reach their aim is national days and holidays. While they try to create national feelings through national days and holidays, they also try to separate their nation from others. In the first issue of the journal Kurdiyê Bitlîsî writes about Kurds “national” holidays and “national” heroes:

Citizens who chose to fight and expel the enemy from their land instead of migrating, gained the independence of their nation with the military moves directed by Demirci Kawa. Every nation considers days like this to be a special day and celebrate with much splendour. Really the 31st of August is considered as the Independence Day with the importance it deserves and it is celebrated on the same day every year in Demawend. The fact that this celebration is called a Kurdish holiday and it is only celebrated by Kurds shows us that the nation who waged war against Dehak’s oppression was Kurds and therefore it proves that the history of the nation who dominated Isfahan after this event was the old history of Kurds. Because every nation only owns and celebrates the days that only belongs to them or were only created and effected by them. At the same time, we have no record of the mentioned day being celebrated by any other nation and this proves that Demawend holiday belongs to Kurds.[381]

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[380] Memduh Selimbegî, *Eyyam-ı Mahsusamızı Tespit Meselesi, Jîn*, issue, 16, p, 6. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 735–736.[Milletler için asıl mühim olan, "millî yevm-i mahsuslardır. Bunlar, hayat-ı milliyede birer durak yeri, birer merhaledir. Böyle günlerde bütün eşvak-ü ıstırabât-ı maziye, acı-tatlı hatırât-ı milliye, vakayi-i tarihiye, ömr-i ecdad. . . hep göz önüne gelir; acı günlerin tekerrür etmemesi, mes'ud günlerle yaşamak için yeni kuvvetler iktisab olunur. Yevm-i mahsuslar birer ıbtıhac günüdür. Topluca eğlenmek, sevinmek, gülmek, milletlerin hakkı olduğu kadar vazifesidir de. Bu günlerde milletler için kendi varlığını anlamak fırsatı vardır; başka günler çalışan, hayat-ı ferdiye endişesiyle uğrasan insanlar, "millî gün"de şahsiyet-i âliye-i millîye ile en yüksek derecede alâkadar olur; hayatî dakikalarda -meselâ bir hakkını dinletmek için- kıyam edecek olan "ruh-ı millî" o gün nümayan olur, âdeta bir imtihan saati geçirir.]

[381] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Dehak Efsanesi, Jîn,* issue, 1, 10-11. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 209–210. [Müstevlileri memleketten tard ve ihrace çalışmakla istihlas-ı vatanı muhacerete tercih eden mütebakî aksam, filhakika feveran-ı milliye alemdar olan demirci Kawe'nin idare ettiği mücahedât ile naü-i emel olmuşlar ve yurtlarını mazhar-ı istiklâl eylemişlerdir. Her millet, tarihinde bu gibi vakayi-i azîmeye masdar olan günleri yevm-i mahsus ittihaz eder ve merasim-i mutantana ile tes'id eyler. Filhakika, Kürdlerce de senenin 31 Ağustosuna tesadüf eden yevm-i halas, layık olduğu ehemmiyetle telâkkî olunmuş ve her sene Ağustosun otuzbirinde

In the long quotation above, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî explains that the 31st of August is considered as the day Kawa ended Dehak's oppression and therefore it is celebrated as the Kurdish "national holiday". Mentioning the fact of this holiday not being celebrated by any other nation can be seen as codifying the difference between Kurds and other ethnic groups. In an article about the issue of identifying "national days" written by Jîn Publishing Committee the following expression appears on Kurd's "national days" :

Nations have special days like national, religious and social special days. Kurd's national days are, the day Kawe broke Dehak's oppression and the day Salahaddin-i Eyyubî was born and became a sultan and other similar days to those. Our religious days are already known.[382]

Kurdish intellectuals emphasizing the myth of the golden era through Selahattin Eyyubi since the beginning of the history of the Kurdish press was mentioned above and it can be said that, the writers of Jîn suggesting the date Selahattin Eyyubi ascended to the throne as a Kurdish "national day" is an effort towards inventing a tradition. Again, the same article shows the date Demirci Kawa ended Dehak's oppression as another Kurdish "national day". It is written that apart from national days, there are social days too like "Sersal" which he explains below:

Kurds also have "Sersal". This the 9th of March in the Julian calendar and all Kurds consider this date to be the beginning of new life and they celebrate it by visiting each other and sending presents to each other. To cut it short, this day holds a special meaning above all the other ordinary days. Every nation separates this kind of days from the others and they enjoy, laugh and have a parade.[383]

"Demawend"de halas-i millî namına bayram yapılmakta bulunmuştur. Bu merasime Kürd Bayramı namı verilmesi ve münhasıran Kürdler tarafından tebcil ve teşrif edilmesi, Dehak'in ref'i [il] mezalimi için ilân-ı mücahede eden milletin Kürdlerden ibaret olduğunu ve binaberîn vakayı müteakib İsfahan'da tekrar tesis-i hakimiyet eden millet tarihinin Kürd tarih-i kadîminden ibaret olması lâzım geldiğini katiyetle tesbit eder. Çünkü her millet, ancak kendisine aid ve kendisinin âmil ve müessiri bulunduğu vakayii, eyyamı hakkıyle benimser ve takdîs eder. Aynı zamanda yevm-i mezkûrun akvam-ı hazıradan başka biri tarafından tes'id edildiğine dair de malumata malik bulunmuyoruz. Bu da Demawend bayramının Kürdlere ihtisasını isbat eder.]

[382] Jîn, *Sersal, Jîn*, issue, 14, p, 1. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 626. [Milletlerin birkaç türlü eyyam-ı mahsusası vardır: Millî, dinî, içtimaî. . . ilh. Kürdlerin millî günü, "Kawe"nin zulm-ı Dehak'i kırdığı gün, Salahaddin-i Eyyubî'nin doğduğu ve "sultan" olduğu günler vesaireler gibi. . . Dinî günlerimiz ise malumdur.]

[383] Jîn, Sersal, Jîn, issue, 14, p, 1. Ibid. [Kürdlerin bir de "Sersal'ı vardır. Bu, Rumî Martın 9'uncu günüdür ki, bu içtimaî yevm-i mahsusu bütün Kürdler bir "bayram" bilirler, yeni bir hayata başlangıç addederler; birbirlerinin ziyaretlerine şitaban olurlar, tebrikleşirler, birbirlerine hediyeler gönderirler. Velhasıl, bugünün hayatın eyyam-ı âdiyesi içinde bir imtiyaz-ı mahsusu vardır. Her millet, böyle günlerini diğerlerinden ayırır ve böyle günlerinde güler, eğlenir, tezahürat yapar.]

The 9th of March according to the Julian calendar is equivalent to the 21st of March in the Gregorian calendar. The 14th issue of the journal happened to be published on this date and it was made of 24 pages for the first time. In this issue, publishing a section about Newroz in Ehmedê Xanî's Mem û Zîn[384] as well as the word Newruz appearing underneath Abdurrahim Zapsu's poem called Sersal[385] shows us that the concepts of Newroz and Sersal are used in each others place.

In the 16th issue Memduh Selim writes this about the relationship between Newroz and Sersal:

> What kind of social and national days do Kurds have apart from their well-known religious days? Which historical resources and channels do they come from? For example the New Year's Eve is common with Iranian Newroz. Is that really so and why would that be if it is? Aren't there different reasons then Kawe being Kurdish in history for celebrating the day "Kawe's flag was raised" as a special day and aren't there circumstances that stemmed from these reasons? We have to say " these are the special days for Kurds and these are the reasons for them". It is our duty to know our special days in order to become a historical nation. Until now, we neglected our duty of knowing ourselves. To learn about our special days and to celebrate those days in time is one way of knowing ourselves as well as being a starting point for moving towards "the roots of our civilization's history".[386]

The main idea that was being put forward in the above quotation by Memduh Selim about how and why "national" and social days should be determined can be summarized as "knowing" and distinguishing ourselves from the other nations. One of the ideas Memduh Selim puts forward above is the necessity of celebrating national" and social holidays in time. In the 25th issue of the journal how "Kawa National Day" was celebrated in *KTC* center and organized by *KTMNC* was explained:

> Here, KTMNC put on a show for "Kawa National Day" to celebrate what gave Kurdish national history an example of inerasable great bravery. We see the interest that was expressed in the show as a very favorable sign that reinforces our hopes. A talk was made in Turkish about Kurdish culture and two talks were made in

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[384] Ehmedê Xanî, *Ji bo Seyrana Sersal û Geştê, Jîn*, issue, 14, p, 19. Ibid., 616.

[385] Ji Mala Hekariyan Ebdürrehim Rehmi, *Sersal, Jîn*, issue, 14, p, 21 ibid., 618.

[386] Memduh Selimbegî, *Eyyam-ı Mahsusamızı Tespit Meselesi, Jîn,* issue, 16, p, 7-8. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 736. [Kürdlerin, malum olan dinî eyyam-ı mahsusasından maada millî ve içtimaî ne gibi yevm-i mahsusları vardır? Bunlar hangi tarihî menbalardan çıkmış, hangi mecralardan akıp gelmiştir? Meselâ "Sersal"ın Iranîlerin Nevruzlarıyle müşterek olduğu anlaşılıyor; bu nedendir veya öyle mıdır? 'Dırefş-ı Kaweyanî"nin açıldığı günün yevm-i mahsus ittihazı için "Kawe"nın tarihen Kürd olmasından başka sebebler ve bu esbabdan doğmuş neticeler yok mudur? "Kürdler için içtimaî, millî eyyam-ı mahsusa şunlardır, tarihen asılları, sebebleri bunlardır" demeli, ortaya koymalıdır. Yevm-i mahsuslarımızı bilmek, tarihî bir kavim olmak haysiyetiyle vazifemizdir. Kendimizi bilmek vazifesini şimdiye kadar ihmal ettik. Hem yevm-i mahsuslarımızı öğrenmek, hem de onları zamanlarında yaşatmak, kendimizi bilmenin yollarından biridir; "tarih-i medenîmizin asılları"na doğru da bir girizgâhtır.]

Kurdish. One Kurdish poem was read and a story, which you will read below, was told. It was then finalized with wishes of Kurdishness to be exalted. We really wish to celebrate our special days like this. And these shows, it would be so great if they bear fruit of introducing different groups of Kurds to each other and be beneficial for national work![387]

As we can see from the quotation above, Kurdish intellectuals continued to lead activities in order to bring life to the "national" holidays they discussed and determined in the pages of the journal.

Anthony Smith mentions that "Central to myths is the idea that nations exist from time immemorial, and that nationalists must reawaken them from a long slumber to take their place in a world of nations. The hold of the nation lies, partly in the promise of the nationalist salvation drama itself. But this power is often immeasurably increased by the living presence of traditions embodying memories, symbols, myths and values from much earlier epochs in the life of a population, community or area". [388] Parallel to this opinion, it can be said that, during the armistice period that *Jîn* writers saw as a nation building process, they tried to separate Kurds from other ethnic groups by bringing forward the differences between Kurds and other ethnic groups. Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the fact that they had to present data and prove that Kurds were different then other ethnic groups in order to be able to claim sovereignty. That's why they defended the idea that Kurds were different and independent from other groups with their roots, language, culture and "national" celebrations. When they were trying to prove their thoughts they tried to create a foundation through myths. Not only must the nation boast a distant past on which to base its promise of immortality; it must also be able to unfold a glorious past, a golden age of saints and heroes, to give meaning to its

[387] Memduh Selimbegî, *Kawe Yewm-i Mahsusu 31 Tabax, Jîn*, issue, 25, p, 4. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 1058. [İşte, pek yüksek bir timsal-ı celâdeti Kürd tarih-i millîsinde lâyezal hatlarla yaşatan Kawe Yevm-i Millîsi münasebetiyle "Kürd Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti" bir müsamere tertib etti. Müsamereye gösterilen alâkayı, ümidlerimizi takviye eden pek hayırlı bir alâmet telâkki ediyoruz. Bir zat tarafından Kürd maarifi hakkında Türkçe bir konferans, iki zat tarafından Kürdçe birer konferans verildi. Kürdçe bir şiir okundu. Ve bir zat tarafından atîdeki hikâye nakledilerek, müsamereye, Kürdlüğün itilâsına müteallik temenniyât arasında hitam verildi. Eyyam-ı mahsusamızın böyle merasimle tebcîl edilmesini ne kadar temenni etsek yeridir. Hele bu müsamereler, Kürdlerin muhtelif heyetlerini birbirlerine tanıtıp sevdirmek, millî umur-ı hayriyeye nafi olmak gibi mübarek neticeler de verirse, ne şayan-ı arzu harekât olur!]

[388] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, Penguin Books: London,1991, P.18,19

promise of restoration and dignity. [389] Kurdish intellectuals aimed at the construction of collective identity for the mobilization of Kurds and they were aware that they had to build a bridge between the past and the present for that. They also knew that to have room for Kurds in the new international world was possible with the description of a Kurdish "nation". That's why they stepped up their efforts towards positioning Kurds as a different "nation" with their language, area they live in and their ancient history.

4. Other Themes

a. Wilson's Fourteen Pointis

Wilson's idea gave us a right to be the master of Kurdistan. If we do not become the master, then be sure that Armenians are coming. They will be the master and take our homeland for themselves.[390]

On Tuesday January 8, 1918 United States President T. W. Wilson gave a statement that was made of 14 points. This statement was later called the Fourteen Points and became one of the important discussion topics of the armistice period. The 12th point of the Fourteen Points was about the future of the Ottoman Empire and it contained the information below regarding the future of the ethnic groups who lived under the Ottoman Empire and Turks:

The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

In order to understand how Kurdish intellectuals perceived this statement, it would be helpful to look at Kamuran Ali Bedirxan's article about it:

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[389] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity,* Penguin Books: London,1991, P.161

[390] Ji Mala Hekariyan Ebdürrehim Rehmi, *Halê Me Yê Hazir, Jîn*, issue, 6, p, 15 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 348. [Fikra Wîlson jî heqek daye me ku em di Kurdistanê bibine wxedan. Eger em nebine xwedan, qet şubhe nekin, Ermenî bit sedan dehêt me, dê bine xwedanê Kurdistanê û welatê me dê jibo xwe bistînin.]

Wilson's Fourteen Points says that from now on every nation will govern itself all around the world and people won't become toys of political aims.[391]

Similarly, Abdurrahim Zapsu praises the Fourteen Points in his article called *Halê Me Yê Hazir* that was published in the sixth issue of the journal. He explained that the article provided a chance for each "nation" to create its own destiny. In the Fourteen Points it was stated that the areas where Turks didn't live wasn't going to be given back to the Ottomans and it was also stated that no Turks lived in "Kurdistan" apart from a few civil servants. As the population of the Armenians weren't more the five percent, "Kurdistan" was the right of Kurds. [392] Apart from the permanent writers of the journal, it is possible to come across readers' letters that stresses the importance of the Fourteen Points as well. In the 20th issue of the journal, a reader called Isfahani writes about T.W.Wilson and his Fourtenn points:

I wanted to see the impact magnanimous Wilson who blows rebellion consciousness on nations, would have on Kurds in practice. The way of thought of our nation is one who likes to serve others rather then itself, usually drags it towards aims that contradict with our interests. [393]

In the 21st issue of the journal, an article written by Memduh Selim suggests that Kurds who are a different "nation" with their race, language and customs also have the right to benefit from the Fourteen Points like other "nations". [394] The Fourteen Points was an important turning point for the Kurdish movement that was forming in İstanbul during the Constitution period and Memduh Selim mentioned it in the 21st issue of the journal in his article about periodization for the Kurdish movement:

1. The Kurdish movement since the revolution (Second Constitution).

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[391] Kamuran Bedirxan, Kürdistan İçin, Jîn, issue, 3, p, 5. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1985, 262. [Wilson'ın on dört şartında, her milletin kendisi tarafından idare edilmesi esasının artık dünyada kesb-i istikrar edileceği ilân olunuyor. Beşeriyetin siyasî makası da artık baziçe olmayacağı beyan ediliyor. İşte, insaniyet ve fazilet mübeşşirliğine yakışan samimî teklif!]

[392] Ebdürrehim Rehmi, *Halê Me Yê Hazir, Jîn*, issue, 6, p, 15. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 348 Jîn .

[393] İsfahani, Bir Mektub, Jîn, issue, 20, p, 11. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 878. [Milletlere sûr-ı kıyam üfleyen âlicenab Wilson hazretlerinin Kürdler üzerindeki tesirini fiilen görmek istiyordum. Başkalarına hizmet etmeyi nefislerine hadim olmaya tercih eyleyen milletimizin bu halet-i fikriyesi, O'nu, ekseriyetle kendi menfaatine muhalif, mütezad emellerin arkasında koşmaya sevkeder. Bundan dolayı birleşemez; ayrılır ve dağılır.]

[394] Memduh Selimbegî, Kürd Kulübünde Bir Musahabe, Jîn, issue. 21 p. 5. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 914–915

2. Political efforts towards protecting the rights of Kurds in accordance with the Fourteen Points.
3. The relationship with the Ottoman Empire since the Armistice. [395]

It can be seen that the Fourteen Points had an important impact on the revival of the Kurdish movement after the First World War. The stages that the Kurdish movement went through were listed in the quotation above. And what kind of work was done during these stages and how the Fourteen Points affected these works are explained below:

After the revolution of the 10th of July, an organization called Kürd Teavün ve Terakkî Cemiyeti was formed for the first time in İstanbul in order to advance Kurdish material and intellectual development. Later on, organisations like Kürd Tamim-i Maarif Cemiyeti and Kürd Talebe Hêvî Cemiyeti were formed. All the work done in the organisation was aimed at bringing development to the civilization. The works of these organisations were interrupted by the politics of the former rulers against them and as a result of the big war but started again during the last part of the war as personal and local efforts continued during the war. After the armistice period that started by the Ottoman Empire agreeing with the Fourteen Points, these works carried on in a wider area.[396]

According to Emrah Sırrı Üçer, " Kurds and Kurdistan didn't have a land or nation that would collectively bring them independence or autonomy according to Wilson's thought system". But Kurdish intellectuals of the period pressed the idea that Wilson's Fourteen Points would also apply for them beginning from the first issues of *Jîn*. As a matter of fact, Memduh Selim writes about the national rights the Fourteen points would provide:

Naturally, the aim of achieving national rights provided by the agreement the Ottoman Empire made about the Fourteen Points were taken in to the program. Not achieving these national rights would mean that Kurds didn't have any rights again they were oppressed and maybe entered a long period of captivity that might go on for centuries. [397]

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[395] Memduh Selimbegî, *Kürd Kulübünde Bir Musahabe, Jîn*, issue, 21, p, 3-4. Ibid., 913–914.
[1- Bidayet-i inkılabdan beri olan Kürd cereyanı.
2- Wilson prensipleri mucibince Kürd hukukunun muhafazasına müteallik teşebbüsât-ı siyasiye.
3- Mütarekeden beri hükümet-i Osmaniye ile olan münasebât.]

[396] Memduh Selimbegî, *Kürd Kulübünde Bir Musahabe, Jîn,* issue, 21, p, 1-2. Ibid., 912. [10 Temmuz inkılabından sonra, İstanbul'da ilk defa KürdTeavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti namıyle, Kürdlerin maddî ve fikrî terakkiyâtı için bir cemiyet teşekkül etti. Sonraları, Kürd Tamim-i Maarif ve Kürd Talebe Hêvî cemiyetleri teşkil kılındı. Bu cemiyetlerde toplanan mesaînin hepsi, Kürdleri terakkiyât-ı medeniyeye mazhar etmek gayesine matuf idi. Eski hükümetlerin bu cemiyetlere karşı tâkib ettiği siyaset ve Harb-i Umumî neticesi olarak İstanbul'da sekteye uğrayan ve fakat harb esnasında mevziî ve münferid şekilde devam eden toplu faaliyetler, harbin son zamanlarında yine başladı ve hükümet-i Osmaniyenin Wilson prensiplerinin kabulüyle akdettiği mütarekeden sonra daha vesî' bir daire dahilinde devam etti.]

[397] Memduh Selimbegî, *Kürd Kulübünde Bie Musahabe, Jîn,* issue, 21, p, 1-2. Ibid. [Cemiyet, Kürdlerin umumî ve millî menafiini sıyanet etmeye borçlu olduğundan, mütarekeden sonra işlerin aldığı şekil ve mahiyet ve dünyaca kabul edilip hükümet-i Osmaniyece de mütarekenin akdiyle beraber memalik-i Osmaniye idaresine esas ittihaz olunan Wilson presiplerinin bahşettiği hukuk-ı milliyeyi istihsal maksadını, tabiatıyle programı miyanına idhal etti. Çünkü aksî takdirde Kürdlerin hakkı tanınmamış, Kürdler yine ezilmiş, Kürdler ihtimal asırlarca devam edecek bir esaret devresine girmiş olacaklardı.]

As we can see above, Kurdish intellectuals saw Wilson's Fourteen Points as a legitimate base for voicing their "national" claims. The old unionists who adopted Turkish nationalism also used the Fourteen Points to legitimize their claims in a similar manner. [398] The same was true for the Armenians, their members of the parliament tried to gain sovereignty by using the fourteen points as a basis for their argument in the parliament. [399]

The conflicting nationalist movements of the time like Armenians, Kurds and Turks all showed Wilson's Fourteen Points as a reference to legitimize their nationalistic claims. In the next section we will look at the reflection of these three conflicting nationalist movements in the journal Jîn.

b. Clashing Nationalisms / Collective Identities

Armenian, Turkish and Kurdish nationalist movements all having claims over the same geography created a conflict between these nationalists and this brought with it the fact that they all called the same geographic area different names. In the 13th issue of the journal Kemal Fevzi explains this situation:

> I wonder if you will ever thought of mending even a little bit of the unforgettable pain and deprivation deemed proper to unfortunate children of helpless "Kurdistan"? An area where it's a sin to mention its name although it was a solid foundation for the Ottoman Empire for four hundred years and an area that had been called all sorts of things such as "Eastern provinces", "Eastern suburbs", "Eastern Anatolia", "Border tribes" and even "Armenia". [400]

I think it would be helpful to look at Kurdish-Armenian and Kurdish-Turkish relations in the Kurdish press history before moving on to arguments Kurdish nationalism developed against Turkish and Armenian nationalisms in the journal Jîn. Armenian-Kurdish relations became a

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[398] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, Genişletilmiş 2. baskı, v.3. İttihat ve Terakki: Bir Çağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 176.

[399] Tarık Zafer Tunaya, *Türkiye'de siyasal partiler*, Genişletilmiş 2. baskı, v.3. İttihat ve Terakki: Bir Çağın, Bir Partinin Tarihi (İstanbul: Hürriyet Vakfı Yayınları, 1984), 176.

[400] Kemal Fevzi, *Hükümet-i Hazıraya Açık Mektub, Jîn*, issue, 13, p, 2. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 572. [Dört asırdan beri Osmanlı saltanatının istinadgâh-ı metîni olan ve hâlâ "Vilâyât-ı Şarkiye, havalî-i Şarkiye, Anadolu-i Şarkî, Serhad" ve hatta "Ermenistan" gibi türlü türlü garib adlarla anılıp da, hakikî isminin söylenilmesi âdeta günah olan bîçare "Kürdistan"ın nasibsiz evlâdlarına reva görülen bunca hicran-ü hüsranı, velev binde bir nisbetinde olsun tamir etmek, acaba hayalinizden geçecek midir?]

very common subject after Abdurrahman Bedirxan took over the running of the Kürdistan newspaper on the fifth issue. It would be hard to say that these articles reflected Kurdish intellectual's general views about this subject since Abdurrahman Bedirxan wrote all of the articles. But they are valuable in terms of publicly addressing Kurdish- Armenian relations for the first time.

Abdurrahman Bedirxan was one of the Young Turks who joined together against Abdülhamit II and he usually blamed Abdülhamit II for the relationship between Armenians and Kurds going sour.

Because Armenians and Kurds are both oppressed by Abdulhamid. However Kurds are uneducated and they are not aware of this truth; therefore they killed Armenians. However this situation of Kurds is not right in terms of religion, custom and wisdom. If Kurds and Armenians become allies, the officers cannot tyrannize Kurdistan. [401]

The necessity of forming an Armenian and Kurdish alliance was mentioned very often by Abdurrahman Bedirxan. According to him, the main reason for the difficulty experienced between Armenians and Kurds was Abdülhamit II and the Hamidiye Cavalry formed by him out of Kurdish tribes. In the 28th issue of the journal he describes the difficulties imposed by the Hamidiye Cavalry on the social construction:

This regiment has existed for a couple of years; the insultment which they applied to people cannot be described. Not only Kurds and Armenians, but today Kurdistan is divided into three; Armenians, Hamidiye Cavalry and non-Hamidian Kurds. These three sides are now enemy to each other in Kurdistan; they kill each other; homeland has become a slaughterhouse.[402]

Although Abdurrahman Bedirxan often defended the idea of Kurds and Armenians becoming allies, his thoughts on how Kurds should resist the case of "Kurdistan" being made in to "Armenia" is as follows:

[401] Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Kurdistan*, 1991, 492. [Çunkî Ermenî jî, Kurd jî mezlûmê Ebdulhemîd, in. Lakîn Kurd cahil in, vê heqîqetê nizanin; loma Ermeniya dikuJîn. Lakîn ev halê Kurda dînen, aqlen, adeten ne caîz e. Heger Kurd û Ermenî îttîfaq bikin, me'mûr nikarin zulme li Kurdistanê îcra bikin]

[402] Ibid. [Eve çend salek e ku ev alay te'sîs bîn, vî zemanî de mezerreta ewan li welat û milet kirî, naqabilê tarif e. Ne Kurd û Ermenî tenê, lakîn îro Kurdistan biye sê mil: Ermenî, Siwarên Hemîdî û Kurdên ne Hemîdî. Îro Kurdistanê de ev sê mil bîne neyarên hevdû; hevdû talan dikin, dikujin; welat bîye mezehek însana.]

Yes, you should never admit an Armenian State to be bulilt on your homeland, but you should save your innocent neighbours. [403]

Abdurrahman Bedirxan stressed that Kurds and Armenians should get along with each other as two autochthonous populations of the same geography but when it comes to sovereignty, Kurds should have it. Also, the same case was true for Turkish-Kurdish relationship. Abdurrahman Bedirxan explains how Turks came to this geography later and gained dominance:

Five hundred years ago there were no Turks at our land. These Truks have all come from Turan and they dominated in our land. Their cruel rulers are all dictators. They call themselves as Caliphs and they apply all kinds of cruelty to our people.[404]

In the quotations above, the terms such as "us ", "our country", "their monarch" used by Abdurrahman Bedirxan were both drawing visible lines between Turks and Kurds and pointing at the fact that Turks were a foreign population. Therefore, a "nation" who subsequently came to this land and gained dominance would be questioned. As a matter of fact, in the 27th issue of the journal it was stressed that Kurds should govern themselves:

Kurds are enemy to each other they do not ally and Turks take the advantage over this situation. There are fair and wise people among us, our leaders should be Kurd; why be governed by Turks?[405]

Getting organised after the proclamation of the 2nd Constitution in İstanbul, the Kurdish movement formed organisations like Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti and Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti in a short period of time. In addition to that, they published a newspaper called Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Gazetesi. It can be said that Ottomanism was the collective identity in this

[403] Ibid., 455.[Erê, divê un tû zemana razî nebin ku ji wetenê we Ermenistanek peyda bibit. Lakîn divê un cîranên xwe yên masûm muhafeze bikin.]
[404] Ibid., 472. [Berî pênc sed sala tu Tirkek li welatê me de nebî. Ev Tirk hemî jî Tûran hatin welatê me, û welatê me de hakimiyê li me dikin. Padîşahên wan, ku hemî xwînrêj mustebid in(Diktatör), unwanê " Xelîfe" li xwe datînin û bi vî halî, çi qasî new'ê zulm heye îcra dikin.]
[405] Ibid., 473.[Bêtefaqîya me jî gelek dibe sebeb. Ku em Kurd neyraê hevdû ne, Tirk jî vî halê me îstîfade dikin,… weha…. Dikin. Nav me de hakimên qenc, muhib, adil hene; bila reîsê me Kurd bit; çire em binê destê Tirka de bimînin.]

newspaper, which was published right after the proclamation of the Constitution. [406] According to the news published in the *Kürd Teavün ve Terakki Newspaper*, there were meetings being held between *KTTC* and Armenian organisations in order to resolve the dispute over the land. All nine issues we have at hand of this newspaper was published in the first year of the Constitution and the optimistic air that was dominant in that period is reflected in the newspaper's attitude.

We can observe that the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals, which belonged to *KTHC*, had more articles about the Kurdish language, literature, history and origins then the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki newspaper*. Both articles written by the writers Xezal and Mevlanzade Rıfat suggest that Kurds and Armenians were from the same race. As it was mentioned before, this idea might have been put forward as an attempt of Kurdish intellectuals to create a common bond between Armenians and Kurds. The *Hetawî Kurd* journal was published in 1913, during a period when the Six Provinces reforms were being discussed. Although *Hetawî Kurd* journal didn't have many discussions about this subject, it can be seen that it was a sensitive subject in terms of Kurdish and Armenian relationships from Halil Hayali's article in the second issue of the journal. In a conference, Arşak Çobanyan expresses his thoughts about how Kurds hadn't changed since Xenophon saw them and how the first thing Armenians would do as soon as the Six Provinces reforms started would be to educate them. Halil Hayali responds to this with a long article and he criticizes Arşak Çobanyan's thoughts and underlines the fact that Kurds were the owners of the Ottoman Empire through Ottoman and Islamic identities and the reforms would have included Kurds too. It is possible to come across an emphasis on Ottomanism in the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals. Kurdish intellectuals highlighting Ottomanism as a collective identity during the Constitution period doesn't mean they were unaware of the nationalistic ideas. On the contrary, as S. Akşin Somel

[406] Duman ve M.S. Program in Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, *The formations of the Kurdish Movement(s) 1908-1914*, 46.

suggests, the discourse of Ottomanism meant standing against the nationalist and centralist approaches of *Committee Of Union and Progress* [407]

The armistice period when the journal Jîn was being published was a critical time in the process of building the Kurdish nation. In this period when the discourse of nationalism was becoming more apparent, naturally the traces of conflict experienced by Kurd-Turk and Kurd-Armenian nationalisms were apparent in the Kurdish newspapers.

İttihat Terakki Cemiyeti tried to assimilate the Muslim nations of the empire such as the Albanians, Arabs and Kurds in to Turkish nationalism starting from when they took power in the second half of the Constitution period until the First World War. At the end of the First World War, the Muslim nations that stayed in the empire were Kurds and Turks. As was mentioned in the section where origin was being discussed, Turkish nationalism used government resources to publish books that aimed at the assimilation of Kurds. Efforts towards the assimilation of Kurds were observed by the writers of the journal Jîn. In the 13th issue of the journal, Kemal Fevzi expresses his thoughts on this subject:

> Unfortunately the remedy suggested nowadays for the people who didn't come down from the high and snowy mountains for centuries, who see their freedom above anything else, who were stripped bare and starving for the sake of Islam and the caliphate and who suffer from death and misery a little more each day, is a very strange attempt of assimilating them.[408]

It can be said that Turkish nationalism's efforts towards assimilating Kurds carried on during the armistice period. One of the important arguments developed by Kurdish intellectuals against this situation was the subsequent settlement of Turks on the concerned geography. In the sixth issue of the journal, Kurdiyê Bitlîsî writes an article called "are the city-dwellers of Kurdistan Turkish?" and represents this situation as:

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[407] S. Akşin Somel, "*Osmanlı Reform Çağında Osmanlılık Düşüncesi"* Mehmet Ö Alkan, ed, *Modern Türkiye'de siyasi düşünce «Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi»,* 2.baskı ed, İletişim Yayınları 762 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 88.

[408] Kemal Fevzi, Hükümet-i Hazıraya Açık Mektub, Jîn, issue, 13, p, 3. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 572–573. [Asırlardan beri yüksek, karlı şahikalarından inmeyen, hürriyetini her şeyin fevkında gören, ne yazıklar ki Hilâfet ve İslamiyet uğrunda bugün üryan-ü perişan kalan ve her gün biraz daha musab-ı mevt-ü sefalet olan o halkın esbab-ı felahı, son zamanlarda pek garib bir hale teşebbüsle, güya temsîl etmeye çalışmakla düşünüldü.]

The first remarkable Turkish invasions occurred during the Harunürreşid period of Abbasid Caliphate. After Khazar Turks expanded their borders to Mosul, Islamic forces rapidly defeated them and pushed them outside Derben on the Caucasus Mountains. As a result of this fast incursion there was not even one Turk left in these lands. (183 H.)(978) Therefore, during this period we shouldn't look for Turks or anything to do with Turks in Kurdistan.[409]

Kurdiyê Bitlîsî carried on in his article about Bitlis, which he claimed to know very well. He wrote that it could only be possible to come across Turks in Ahlat and referencing a book written by a Russian General stated that there were only five hundred Turks in Bitlis. [410] According to Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, it was wrong for Turkish nationalists to use Turkish being the spoken language in Kurdistan as proof of people living there to be Turkish and he explained this by:

The summary of history above shows us that there were no Turks in Kurdistan cities and villages during the 11th century. I wonder if cities existed in Kurdistan during those times. Surely the formation date of very few cities in Kurdistan goes back to this date and actually goes much further back from this date all the way to unknown darkness of history. No one can deny that these cities existed in 11th century and the inhabitants of these cities spoke one language and they belonged to one nation. Therefore with the reasons above we can certainly claim that the citizens of this place spoke a language other than Turkish. This wouldn't be any other language than Kurdish.[411]

As we can see from the above quotations, when it came to conflict with Turkish nationalists, Kurdish nationalist intellectuals usually stressed the point that Turks supervened upon this geography. In addition, no Turks lived in the mentioned geographical area and as a result, Turks did not have the right to claim sovereignty were among other arguments. Although Turkish and Kurdish nationalism were in conflict in that period, we can't say there was no common ground between them. Even Kurdîyê Bitlîsi who was known for his nationalism,

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[409] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, *Kürdistan'daki Şehir Sekeneleri Türk müdür?, Jîn*, issue, 6, p, 4 Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 354. […..nazar-ı dikkati calib ilk Türk seyl-i istilâsının hulafa-i Abbasiyeden Harunürreşid zamanında vukuunu bildiriyor. Hazar Türklerinin Musul'a kadar tevsî-i daire edebilen bu hareketini serîan tenkil eden kuva-i İslâmiye, onları Kafkas dağları üzerindeki meşhur Derbend'in haricine atmış ve süratle cereyan eden bu medd-ü cezr-i Etrak, arazi-i müstevleyede bir dane olsun Türk bırakmamıştır. Binaberîn, bu devir için Kürdistan'ın hiç bir noktasında Türk ve Türk'e dair bir şey aramamak lâzımdır.]

[410] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdistan'daki Şehir Sekeneleri Türk müdür?, jîn, issue, 6, p, 4 ibid.

[411] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdistan'daki Şehir Sekeneleri Türk müdür?, jîn, issue, 6, p, 4 ibid. [Yukarıda serdedilen icmal-ı tarihî gösteriyor ki, Hicretin beşinci asrı ihtidasında Kürdistan şehirlerinde, köylerinde Türk yoktu. Acaba, Kürdistan' in şehir namını verdiğimiz medineleri o tarihte mevcud mu idiler? Adedleri mahdud Kürdistan şehirlerinin zaman-ı tesisleri, hiç şübhe edilmez ki o tarihe, ondan pek çok gerilere, tarihin âmak-ı mechuliyetine kadar gider. Kimse inkâr edemez ki bu şehirler beşinci asr-ı Hicrî ihtidasında meskûn ve sekenesi bir lisan ile mütekellim ve bir milliyete malik idi. Binaberîn, şehirler ahalisinin muhakkak olarak Türkçeden başka bir dile sahib olduklarını, esbab-ı mesrudeye mebni iddia edebiliriz, ki bu da Kürdçeden başka bir dil değildi.]

commented on being on the same ground with Turkish nationalism when it came to the concept of an Islamic nation:

We are at a time when we have to get together as Turkish and Kurdish nations in order to deal with the death storms over our heads. It seems to be a gentle time but actually it screams to tell us to avoid any gossip that won't serve the unity of Islamic nations. This storm is proven by some of the effects and symptoms do not go away that easily.[412]

During the armistice period, Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the importance of an Islamic identity besides the Kurdish national identity that they were trying to build as a collective identity. In the 22nd issue Yusuf Ziya expresses this:

As Jîn's editorial board would know better then I do, apart from some exceptions, the majority would prefer to have a religious ceremony then to listen to Jîn's moaning. I won't explain my opinion further.[413]

Similarly, in a reader's letter in the 11th issue of the journal, the idea of Islam and Kurdishness going hand in hand towards building a national identity was expressed. [414]

Again in the 20th issue of the journal, a reader who signed as İsfahani also stresses the importance of having both identities.[415] Yusuf Ziya explains his worries about having conflicts in the social structure in case those two identities weren't dealt with in a way that supported each other:

Jîn is in the right direction. The aim of its actions is to awaken the nation, equip it with science and culture and as respectful editorial boards says; to let it join the commonwealth with a dictionary in one hand and history in the other. This is exactly the main point of the movement. This is Jîn's duty. Great Kurdish thinkers and grand sheiks have other detailed and far-reaching duties. I know it's not up to me but as a request I would say, "these two dutiful parties should join their forces in any way possible". Otherwise a fight about newness or oldness might lead to the destruction of building of hope[416]

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[412] Kurdiyê Bitlîsî, Kürdistan'daki Şehir Sekeneleri Türk müdür?, jîn, issue, 6, p, 4. ibid. [….mazîde olduğu kadar hâlde aynı mukadderata tabi, istikbalde de aynı tehlikelere mâruz Türk-Kürd milletlerinin başlan üzerinde uçan ölüm fırtınalarıyle müttehiden meşgul olmak lâzım gelen bir devirde bulunuyoruz. Zamanın nezaket-i fevkalâdesi, ümmetin ittihadını takviye etmeyeceği bedihî dedikodular tevlidinden ihtirazı kulaklar patlatacak bir şiddetle bağırdığı, bu defaki fırtına öyle kolaylıkla geçiştirilebilecek neviden olmadığı bazı âsâr ve alâimden istidlal edildiği halde…..]

[413] Yusuf Ziya, *Bir Mektub, Jîn*, issue 22, p, 3. Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 947. ["Jîn" Heyet-i Tahririyesi benden daha iyi bilir ki, müstesnası müstesna, ancak ekseriyet, "Jîn"in iniltilerine mukabil bir ayîn-i dinî icra etmeyi tercih ederler. Bundan daha fazla fikrimi izah etmeyeceğim.]

[414] Bir Kürd Genci, *Bir Mektub, Jîn,* issue, 11, p, 16. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 529.

[415] İsfahani, *Bir Mektub, Jîn*, issue, 20, p, 12. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1987, 879.

[416] Yusuf Ziya, Bir Mektub, Jîn, issue, 22, p, 2 Bozarslan, *Jîn*, 1988, 947. [Jîn", iyi bir meslek tâkib ediyor. O'nun gaye-i hayali, milletini uyandırmak, ilim ve marifetle teçhiz etmek, Heyet-i Muhtereme-i Tahririyesinin dediği gibi cemiyetgâh-ı milele bir elinde tarih, diğerinde kamus-ı millî bulunduğu halde sokmak. İşte bu, üssül-

Known for his nationalist articles, Memduh Selim wrote about a meeting held in *KTC* and shed some light on the existing collective identity between Kurds and the political atmosphere of the time:

For us, what was very important and worth thinking about was, the dominant psychology of strong Islamic devotion as well as deep and genuine trust in England among all the participants of the meeting who was made up of serious intellectuals, thinkers and young people. The aim and the procedure that was to be followed in reaching this aim were agreed upon. While continuing in the path of voicing the Kurds wishes and opinions, gaining England's support in reaching the aim of establishment and development of Kurdistan was accepted unanimously and was put forward as a request. [417]

In the 22nd issue of the journal, a talk Encüm Yamulki gave in *Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti (The Society for the Rise of Kurdish Woman)* was later published. It can be said that Encüm Yamulki makes references to Islamic resources and points to the idea of Islamic unity:

Ladies, Us Kurds put aside all the conflict between nations with the holy sentence that says "Those believe in Allah are all siblings" and exist as the best supporter, genuine lover and strong friend of Turks for centuries, since the birth of Islam.[418]

As we can see, during the armistice period, Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the fact that the ethnic group they belonged to had a strong Islamic identity. Because of this reason they wrote articles that suggested Islamic and Kurdish identity to be handled together. It can be said that Islam as a collective identity provided a platform to ease the conflict between Turkish and Kurdish nationalism but we can't say the same platform could be constructed between Armenian and Kurdish nationalisms. According to Nesim Şeker, during the first half of the armistice period, all the ethnic groups who had claims over the land used population

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esas. . Yalnız bu, "Jîn"in vazifesi. Kürd'ün eâzım-ı mütefekkirînine, şuyûh-ı muazzamasına düşen vazaif ise daha başka, daha etraflıdır. Haddim değil, fakat bitarîkirrica, her iki zümre-i muvazzafînin her ne suretle olur ise olsun tevhîd-i mesaî etmesi şarttır diyeceğim. Yoksa, bir yenilik eskilik kavgası, bina-i ümidin sebeb-i indirası olur.]

[417] Memduh Selimbegî, *Kürd Kulübünde Bir Musahabe, Jîn,* issue, 21, p, 7. Ibid., 916. [Hatibin beyanâtını, müteaddid zevatın Kürdlük ve Kürdistan hakkında mütalâaları ve mesaînin suret-i idare ve tevsîine dair teklifleri tâkib etti. Bizce en mühim ve şayan-ı teemmül olan cihet, Kürdlerin İstanbul'daki en mütefekkir ve münevverlerinden ve gençlerinden mürekkeb olan bu ictimada, camia-i İslâmiyeye kavî marbutiyeti ve İngiltere'ye karşı derin ve samimî itimadı gösteren halet-i ruhiye idi. Gaye ve gayenin tarz-ı takibi, heyet-i umumiyece mazhar-ı kabul olmuş ve umum Kürdlerin arzu ve ihtiyaçlarına tercüman plan bu yolda devam edilerek Kürdistan' in teessüsünde ve maksad-ı terakkîsini istihsalda İngiltere devlet-i fahîmesinin behemehal temin-i müzaheretine muvaffak olunması, müttefikan taleb ve temennî edilmiştir.]

[418] Encüm Yamulki, *Bir Hitabe, Jîn*, issue, 22, p, 5. Ibid., 949. [Hanımefendiler, biz Kürdler, ihtilâfât-ı ümemi, "innemel mü'minûne ihvetun" nass-ı celîli ile bertaraf ederek, akvam-ı muhtelifeyi kardeşleştiren İslâmiyetin zuhurundan, yani asırlardan beri Türk milletinin en sadık bir muhibbi, en kavî bir dostu ve en zahîr bir kardeşi olarak bulunuyoruz.]

statistics to prove their case.[419] This was true for Armenian and Turkish nationalisms. We come across this information in the 15th issue of the journal about Armenian, Kurdish and Nestorian populations in Van:

According to the survey done in 1889 in Van, Kurds had 26377 houses and 158262 people. Armenians had 13746 houses and 82476 People. Nestorians had 7101 houses and 42106 people. When Kurdish tribes of 27317 houses and 277780 people were added, in total Kurds had a population of 436042 while Armenians had 82470 and Nestorians had 42106.[420]

The population statistics of the armistice period usually contained information that would suit the nation the person who is writing it belonged to and the population of the nation seen as a competitor would tried to be eliminated.[421] In the article above, Armenian population was shown as being half of the Kurdish population. An article by Vahan Cardashian called "Armenia and Self- Defence" was published in The New York Times newspaper on the 23rd of August 1919. The article stated that the population of Armenians living in Trabzon, Erzurum, Van, Diyarbakır, Harput, Sivas, Adana provinces and Maraş district was two million and four hundred thousand while the population of Muslims in the same district was one million.[422] The aim of population statistics was to strengthen the defenders case during the Paris Peace Conference. Jîn Journal writers described the Paris Peace Conference as a conference that would determine the future of nations. During the conference both Armenian and Kurdish committees defended their right of sovereignty on the same geography. The Armenian claims and western powers expressing sympathy towards these claims was understood as the area known as "Kurdistan" was about to enter under the domination of soon to be established "Armenia":

[419] Nesim Şeker, «Ethnic Conflicts in Anatolia and the Establishment of the Turkish Republic», 53.
[420] Jîn, 1899 Tahririne Nazaran Van Vilayatında Mukim Kürd ve Ermeni Mikdar-ı Hane ve Nüfuslarını Mübeyyin Cedvel, Jîn, issue, 15, p, 8-11. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 660–663.
[421] Nesim Şeker, «Ethnic Conflicts in Anatolia and the Establishment of the Turkish Republic», 53.
[422] Cardashian, Vahan : "Armenia and Self- Defense", The New York Times, 23 Ağustos 1919 aktaran Akın Çelik, «Mondros Mütarekesi Sonrasında İstanbul Hükümetleri ve Ermeniler» (İstanbul üniversitesi, 2009), 242–243.

It seems like the decisions made by the Paris Peace Conference about defeated nations, and therefore Ottomans, our beloved Kurdistan that racially and legitimately belongs to Kurds, where we shed our blood on, and where the dominant population is made out of Muslims -maybe because Kurds are Muslims- will become under the control of Armenian dominance.[423]

As was mentioned before, Kurdish leaders and poets discussed the subject of "Kurdistan" turning into "Armenia" or Kurds becoming under the orders of Armenians since the second half of 19th century. In the eighth issue of the journal Siverekli Hilmi expresses similar worries to above quotation:

Youth! Yes, I am calling you. Aren't you reading newspapers? We are talking about the destiny of five or six cities, a Muslim population of three million, the homeland that fed and raised you.[424]

As was mentioned above, "Kurdistan" becoming under the orders of "Armenia" was a historical fear Kurds possessed and because of this fear, Kurdish youth were called to defend their homeland. In the 19th issue of the journal Kamuran Ali Bedirxan writes about how Armenians couldn't claim any rights over a land populated mostly by Kurds:

It would be crazy to agree with the connection of Armenia that belonged to the past and the Armenians of now and no contemporary historian can deny this historical fact. Anything that would be written about old Armenia would just be about repeating what was written in Assyrian Annals whether researchers are French, English or Russian as long as they are skilled historians or impartial diplomats. Armenians are completely devoid of the power needed to sustain sovereignty as well as the power to make Kurds obey their government. Kurds make out the majority everywhere. Not only Turkish statistics but also European travellers, geography travellers and foreign embassies confess this.[425]

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[423] İhsan Nuri, *Wilson Prensipleri ve Kürdler, Jîn*, issue, 15, p, 4. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1986, 684. [Fransa'da içtima eden Düvel-i mü'telife Divan-ı Harb-i Örfîsinin mağlub milletler, dolayısıyle Osmanlılar hakkında vermekte oldukları kararlar miyanında, her kabze-i hâki hûn-ı ecdad ile mülemma', Kürd'ün mülk-i mevrus ve meşruu olan, sükkâmnın ekseriyet-i kahiresini Müslümanlar teşkil eden sevgili Kürdistan'ımızın da —Kürdlerin Müslüman bulunması töhmetiyle olsa gerek Ermenilerin taht-i emr-ü hükmüne verileceğinin muhtemel bulunması, mütevalî ve müteakib neşriyat ile ihsas olunmaktadır. Bu işaâtın sıdkına ihtimal etmemekle beraber, bu hususta birkaç söz söylemeyi muvafık buldum.]

[424] Siverekli Hilmi, *Kürd Genclerine, Jîn*, issue, 8, p, 7. Bozarslan, M. Emîn, *Jîn*, 1985, 418. [Gençler! Evet, size hitab ediyorum. Ceraid-i havadisi tâkib etmiyor musunuz? Beş-altı vilâyet sekenesinin, üç milyondan fazla bir nüfus-ı İslâmiyenin, sizi doğuran, büyüten, elhaletü hazihi yaşatan mader vatanın mukadderatı mevzu-i bahs oluyor.]

[425] Kamran Ali Bedirhan, *Kürdistan ve Kürdler, Jîn*, issue, 9, p, 7. Ibid., 448. [Mâzînin bir Ermenistanı ile bugünkü Ermenilerin alâka-i tarihiyelerini kabul etmek bir cinnettir; ve hiç bir müverrih-i hazır(moderne) de mâzînin bu şeklini reddedemez. Herhangi bir müdekkik, ister Fransız, ister İngiliz olsun, hatta isterse Rus müverrihi bulunsun, sanatkâr bir müverrih olmak ve tarafgîr bir diplomat olmamak şartıyle, Ermenistan-ı kadîm hakkında yazacağı tarih, Asur salnamelerinin söyledikleri şeyleri tekrar etmektir… Ermeniler, tesis etmek istedikleri hükümetin hakimiyetini ve Kürdlerin bu hükümete itaatini temin edebilecek kuvvetlerden de tamamıyle mahrum bulunuyorlar. Kürdler her yerde bir ekseriyet-i katiye teşkil ederler. Bu ciheti yalnız Türk istatistikleri değil, belki bütün Avrupa seyyahları, süyyah-ı coğrafiyûnu ve mesail-i iktisadiye ile alâkadar olan ecnebi konsolosları itiraf etmektedirler.]

The areas of conflict are different when it comes to Kurd-Armenian and Kurd-Turk nationalisms. When the conflict was with Armenian nationalists, Kurdish intellectuals defended the case that Kurds had a bigger population on the land Armenians were claiming. When the conflict was with Turkish nationalists, they defended the case by saying Turks weren't the autochthonous people of the land in question and there weren't any Turks living in that geography. Although Turkish and Kurdish nationalisms experienced conflict about the rights over Kurdistan, it is visible that they have a similar platform in Islam as a collective identity. As it was mentioned above, Kurdish intellectuals were aware of the fact that the Islamic identity was very strong and common within the ethnic group they belonged to during the armistice period when they were trying to build a national identity.

Part C

Conclusion

The armistice period between the 30th of September 1918 and the 1st- 2nd of November 1922 was a serious breaking point for the Ottoman Empire and the ethnic groups that lived within the empire. The Ottoman Empire came to an end by loosing the First World War and this caused a revival of identity struggles among ethnic groups that lived within the empire. Before the Armistice of Mudros was signed, the 12th point of Wilson's Fourteen Points provided hope for the ethnic groups within the empire. The 12th point was about giving the right of self-determination to ethnic groups who have the biggest populations on the lands in question. This situation created conflicts between Kurdish, Turkish, Greek and Armenian nationalisms and as a result different population statistics came to light. The Fourteen Points also created a basis for the ethnic groups to legitimise their nationalistic claims. We can see a similar situation repeated in the journal Jîn, which is our research subject. While population

statistics were being published, many writers of the journal suggested that Kurds made up the biggest population of “Kurdistan”. The armistice period is a time when Kurdish nationalism was in conflict with Turkish and Armenian nationalisms. The main conflict between Kurdish and Armenian nationalisms was about Six Provinces they both claimed sovereignty over. Intellectuals of both sides claimed that their population was bigger then the others within these provinces. Although their delegates voiced these claims in the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, later a consensus was reached between the two sides. But Turkish nationalism reaching success during the end of the armistice period abolished the grounds for the application of this consensus. Another ethnic group Kurdish nationalism was in conflict with was Turkish nationalism. Kurdish intellectuals stressed the fact that Turks migrated to Kurdistan and therefore they weren’t the autochthonous population of this geography. On the other hand, when it came to Armenian claims over “Kurdistan”, Turkish nationalism highlighted the idea of collective Islamic identity that could be formed between Turks and Kurds against Armenians while pointing to the fact that the majority of the population was made up of Muslims. Also during the Turkish war of independence in Anatolia, Turkish nationalism used the emphasis on Islam as a tool to draw Kurdish tribes to their side. During this period when Kurdish intellectuals were embarking on the construction of national identity, they tried to make the differences between Turks and Kurds clearer by looking at Pre-Islamic history of Kurds as a response towards Turkish nationalisms afford in uniting Turks and Kurds under Islam. But this doesn’t mean that Kurdish intellectuals weren’t aware of the Islamic identity being a very strong collective identity among the ethnic group they belonged to. As a matter of fact, it is possible to come across views that express the chance of successfully building a national identity being only possible with Kurdishness and Islam going hand in hand. In order to prove that Kurds were a separate “nation” from Turks and Armenians, Kurdish intellectuals did what other nationalist intellectuals would do and turned

to history. As sharing a common geography and destiny, to have common myths, roots and national memories are a part of being a nation, we can see these topics often included in the journal Jîn because it was published during the armistice period when Kurds were in the process of nation building. Although these kinds of topics were included in other Kurdish newspapers and journals that were published before *Jîn*, there weren't many of them and the topic wasn't dealt with in depth. On the other hand the discourse of origins was one of the main topics of *Jîn*. Kurds being an Iranian race was consistently defended in the journal and this can be said to be a response towards the Turkish nationalist's idea of Kurds being from the same Ural-Altaic race as them. The journal *Jîn* also differs from other Kurdish press in referencing western resources about subjects such as the history of "Kurdistan" and the discourse of the origins of Kurds. Some academics that does research about nationalism suggest that nationalism would be constructed upon invented traditions and we can see that Kurdish intellectuals who wrote for *Jîn* also tried to invent traditions. In the journal we come across the Dehak Legend as a myth about roots. The hero of the Dehak Legend Demirci Kawa was depicted, as a national hero for Kurds and the date Kawa defeated Dehak as 31st August became a national Kurdish holiday. We can see that this was celebrated in *KTC* centre. Similarly the day Selahattin Eyyubi ascended to the throne was also celebrated as a national holiday. References to national heroes and mythifying historical figures can be seen as references made to the golden age during the national identity building process. Selahattin Eyyubi was one of the people the most referenced in Kurdish newspapers and journals from the beginning of the Kurdish press. We come across Selahattin Eyyubi's biography in the Kürdistan newspaper, which was published in 1898 as well as in *Rojî Kurd* journal, which was published during the armistice period. Before the armistice period Selahattin Eyyubi would provide a legacy for Kurds regarding his Kurdish identity and how he served Islam but

in the journal *Jîn*, he and his period were depicted as the golden ages. Therefore we can say that Kurdish intellectuals used history as an element in national identity building.

A similar concept can be applied to discussions about language. In the *Rojî Kurd and Hetawî Kurd* journals published during the armistice period, we come across many articles about Kurdish language and literature. There were a lot of discussions about many related subjects such as the changing of the Kurdish alphabet or Kurds getting an education in their native language. We can see that the writers stressed the fact that a national language should be created. Kurdish intellectuals were stating that a common written language that all Kurds would understand was necessary even though different dialects created richness in the language. Again, as Kurdish identity was defined by Kurdish language, this language was an element to make Kurds separate from other people they shared the land with.

When the Constitution Era and the armistice period are compared in terms of Kurdish movement, it is possible to find many similarities. Organisations *like Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti, Kürt Neşr-i Maarif Cemiyeti and Kürt Talebe Hêvi Cemiyeti* were formed during the Constitutional Era while organisations such as *Kürt Teali Cemiyeti, Kürt Tamim-i Maarif ve Neşriyat Cemiyeti, Kürt Talebe Hêvî Cemiyetî and Kürt Kadınları Teali Cemiyeti* were formed during the armistice period. The first and second managing directors of both *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki Cemiyeti and Kürt Teali Cemiyeti* were the same people. This is the same for the members of these organisations too. Again, many writers who wrote during the Constitution Era also wrote during the armistice period in journals like Jîn and Kürdistan. Therefore we can suggest that there was a consistency throughout the Constitution Era and the armistice period. We come across collective identity as the subject that a main breaking point was experienced. The discourse of Ottomanism was prominent in the *Kürt Teavün ve Terakki newspaper*, published during the first year of the Constitutional Era but this discourse left it's place to the construction of national identity during the armistice period. The changes in

discourse over the construction of collective identity between Kurdish intellectuals during the ten years from the first half of the Constitution Era to the first half of the armistice period can be explained by the changing political cycles. Although there were no Muslim ethnic groups that were separated from the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the Constitutional Era, Albanians and Arabs were separated during the armistice period. When the empire was defeated during the First World War in addition to the situation above, Kurdish intellectuals started to construct a national identity separate from the identities of Ottomanism and Islam. During the armistice period, referencing Wilson's Fourteen Points, Kurdish intellectuals claimed self-governance over the geography they described as Kurdistan and they embarked on a journey to construct a national identity in order to ensure the political legitimacy of this claim. Their main references during the construction of this identity was language, culture, literature, land and history as I have tried to cover in my work

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Dicle

İctihad

Hetaw-i Kurd

Jîn

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